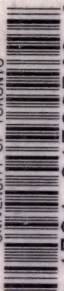


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CHARLES II

From a miniature by Samuel Cooper in the possession of Lord Aldenham

THE LAST DAYS OF
CHARLES II

By RAYMOND CRAWFURD

M.A., M.D. OXON., F.R.C.P.

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1909

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

PREFACE

OF late years much of the history of medicine has been written: the medicine of history still remains an almost unturned soil. Norman Moore's sketches suggest what there is to do, and show how it should be done. For the appearance of this brief study an interlude of illness in the midst of an active professional life is at once the excuse and the explanation. In reading Macaulay's account of the death of Charles II, it could not but be apparent, that whatever the manner of his dying, apoplexy was not, as historians have determined, the cause. This at first led me to think that, after all, the suspicions of poison might not be so ill-founded as is generally believed. But when I came to examine and compare all the available accounts of eyewitnesses and contemporaries, I found that it was no difficult task to piece together a typical picture of death from chronic granular kidney (a form of Bright's disease) with uraemic convulsions. The search also revealed, that though the narrative of the death-bed has been described with enviable picturesqueness both by Jesse and by Macaulay, no one appears to have done so with any approach to accuracy. Macaulay has warned the unwary of the difficulty of digesting the vast mass of materials into a consistent narrative. This dyspepsia I have wantonly courted, and have satisfied at any rate myself, that it is a mere matter of sufficient mastication to reduce it to a simple assimilable state. Picturesque language is a dangerous medium for the expression of accurate observation, and in reconstructing the story I have purposely contented myself with a bald presenta-

tion of facts. I am well aware that the world at large regards minute accuracy as the acme of boredom. I am aware too that dullness and prolixity are the inalienable property of my profession ; these latter I trust I have avoided.

History nowadays has ceased to be narrative, and has become philosophical ; yet the need for minute accuracy is none the less, for even philosophers cannot draw right conclusions from wrong premisses.

I have transcribed and translated the manuscript account by Sir Charles Scarburgh of the death of Charles II. For permission to do so I owe my thanks to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, in whose library it is deposited. It is a valuable supplement to the lay literature of the subject.

My primary object in putting pen to paper has been to establish the true cause of the death of Charles II. I have therefore confined myself, as far as practicable, in what follows, to such matters only as bear directly or indirectly on this question. It would have been impertinent in me to discuss controversial matter in connexion with the diplomacy, the religion, the character or the lack of it in the man, in spite of its supreme interest.

R. C.

1909.

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INTRODUCTORY

COMMENTS ON THE NARRATIVE

THE literature of the death-bed of Charles II is singularly abundant and interesting. There are in existence no less than eight descriptions from the pens of eyewitnesses. If these accounts are examined side by side, and statement weighed against statement, a striking agreement will be found to exist among them. It will be well, perhaps, to enumerate these principal sources of information. They are:—

1. The Memoirs of Thomas, second Lord Ailesbury. As Gentleman of the Bedchamber he was in intimate relation to King Charles, both before and during the illness. His memoirs, commenced in 1729, were written abroad, where he had lived in exile for many years. Presumably, therefore, they were compiled without facilities for reference, and he tells us that he had no notes to aid his memory. One cannot fail to perceive that they were written in reply to, and for the most part to refute, the narrative of Welwood in the Memoirs of the most Material Transactions in England for the Last Hundred Years Preceding the Revolution in 1688. In places the language makes it almost certain that Ailesbury actually wrote with Welwood's Memoirs before him.

2. The Dispatches of Barillon, the French Ambassador in London, to Louis XIV. The death-bed dispatch shows the cold, unemotional precision one would expect from this past-master of corruption, whom Louis sent to supersede Courtin, when the need of wholesale bribery arose. They exist in the *Dépôt des Affaires*

Étrangères at Paris, and many of them have been transcribed in Dalrymple's Memoirs.

3. The Dispatches of Van Citters, the Dutch Ambassador. These dispatches are far more concise than those of Barillon. They show the mind of a man who has the knack of selecting the points of essential importance, which in those of Barillon are often almost buried in a mass of detail. These dispatches are preserved in the Dutch Archives at the Hague, but some of them are also included in the Mackintosh Collection at the British Museum.

4. Hudleston's Account, still extant in print in a work entitled: 'A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church: composed many years since by that eminent Divine Mr. Richard Hudleston of the English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict; and now published for the common good by his nephew Mr. Jo. Hudleston of the same Congregation. To which is annexed his late Majesty King Charles the Second his Papers found in his Closet after his decease. As also a Brief Account of What Occurred On His Death Bed In Regard to Religion. Permissu Superiorum. London. 1688. quarto.'

This Tract was published under the patronage, and it is believed by request, of King James, and is dedicated to the Dowager Queen Catherine. In the dedication, Hudleston says that he had been one of Catherine's priests from the time of her accession: and that King Charles first saw the above-named book by Richard Hudleston, when he was hiding at Moseley during his flight after the battle of Worcester. John Hudleston claims that the reading of this book was instrumental in bringing about Charles's conversion to Romanism. For this reason it was published along with the account of the Death-bed Ceremony, and with

the two papers found in Charles's strong-box or closet after his death, which are held to breathe the same spiritual subservience.

Hudleston's Death-bed Account has the genuine ring of truth. Whenever the circumstances of the secret ceremony permit confirmation of details, they are confirmed by the accounts of other eyewitnesses. Barillon says that Hudleston had to be instructed what to do and say, *parce que de lui-même ce n'étoit pas un grand docteur*. This, taken with Mary of Modena's description of him to the nuns of Chaillot as *un homme simple*, has generally been taken as implying that he was illiterate. Probably it means no more than that he did not fall naturally into the delicate and important part cast upon him at a moment's notice, for Mary adds: '*il eut été à souhaiter dans une occasion si importante qu'on eut trouvé un sujet plus habile, pour aider ce grand Prince à faire une bonne mort.*' An illiterate priest would hardly have been selected as tutor to Sir John Preston and the nephews of Mr. Whitgrave of Moseley.

From the Stuart Papers we learn that Hudleston had attested his account on or before April 8, 1686.

5. The manuscript account by Sir Charles Scarburgh, first physician to King Charles II. The MS. may now be seen in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House: it is here transcribed and translated, and reproduced at the end of this volume. On the whole, it is a creditable piece of Latin prose for a busy physician of 70 years, as became an age when medicine was not yet divorced from a study of the arts. It will be obvious to the most casual reader that the account is not intended to be a complete description of the last illness. Symptoms are mentioned only incidentally, while the means and aims of treatment are discussed in the fullest detail. There can be little room for doubt that it was

written to refute the idle rumours of poisoning current at the time. It establishes beyond question the unanimity of the physicians, and forms an interesting commentary on Burnet's graphic picture of their disagreements. It shows that those who directed the treatment had no suspicion of poison in their minds. It states categorically that at the autopsy nothing abnormal was found in the abdomen. From this we may infer, either that the stomach and intestines were examined, and found to be normal; or that, so far was there from being at the time any suspicion of poison—and the collateral literature shows this to have been the case—that they were not even specially inspected.

The stress laid on the scene of affectionate farewell between James and Charles is manifestly designed to convey that James in any case was above suspicion.

From the internal evidence of the MS. it is certain that the account was written at a date when details of time were no longer fresh in the writer's memory. For example, a portion of the treatment carried out on Thursday is ascribed to Friday. The natural presumption is that the MS. was compiled from Scarburgh's personal notebook, probably at the request of James, to whom also he was personal physician. Stress of work and the strain of a five nights' vigil may well have delayed the writing of the daily notes: hence the misplacement.

6. Passages from the diary and letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield. In his MS. he aptly describes them as 'Some short Notes for my remembrance of things and accidents, as they yearly happened to mee'. But for a few trifling inaccuracies of day and hour, he is confirmed in all material points by the accounts of the other eyewitnesses. His duties compelled him during the illness to turn night into day, with the familiar

consequence of a confused impression of the passage of time. He refers to one of his letters as being written in 'such a confusion of mind, that I hardly knew then, or doe now remember what I writ'.

7. An anonymous letter to the Rev. Francis Roper, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is included in Ellis's *Original Letters*. The internal evidence shows it to have been written on the day following King Charles's death by one of the chaplains of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, who was present when the King died. It is not without interest to note that this year Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the chaplains to the Bishop of Ely. The letter now preserved in the British Museum is only a copy of the original, so that the handwriting affords no clue. It is the letter of a man with a keenly impressionable mind, possessed also of the power of expressing his thoughts in language of singular charm and simplicity.

8. The Life of James the Second, compiled, probably in the first few years of the eighteenth century, from the lost memoirs in his own handwriting. The narrative of Charles's death-bed is almost verbally identical with two extant Stuart Papers, the property of the present King, in James's own handwriting. Whoever compiled the Life, as edited by Clarke, had seen either these papers or duplicates of them. In most points, in which religious controversy is not involved, James is in agreement with the other eyewitnesses. To appreciate the extent to which his mind was warped by religious bigotry, it is instructive to read the account written down in the Memoirs side by side with the account recited by James and Queen Mary to the nuns of Chaillot. The latter reeks of self-righteousness, and the divergences in the two accounts show up clearly

James's propensity for accommodating himself to the religious requirements of the moment. Were this but an isolated instance, one might be disposed to attribute some of the discrepancies to a liberal subediting by the nuns of Chaillot. But it must be remembered that Mary was actually resident in the convent at the time of James's visit, so that it is at least probable that the nuns would have submitted the account to her for confirmation and approval, after it had been committed to writing. In the *Memoirs*, James lets us see him in the relatively healthy rôle of religious intolerance, characteristic of the retired naval officer of flag rank.

Such are the various accounts that eyewitnesses have left behind. Not one of them, however, is superior to, and few can rank side by side with, the account given by Evelyn in his *Diary*. On all details, even those of purely medical interest, he is abundantly confirmed by the evidence of eyewitnesses, while here and there he serves to elucidate their obscurities. His narrative stands as a perpetual reproach to such men as Burnet and Welwood, who with the same opportunities as Evelyn for unravelling the truth have failed signally to discriminate between fact and fiction. The eighteenth century was probably unjust in dubbing Burnet a liar and an impostor, but in the milder phraseology of the twentieth century one cannot but express regret that personal prejudice and religious rancour should have so blinded his eyes as to make them incapable of discerning the truth. Throughout, his story is in such open conflict with that of the eyewitnesses that one is compelled regretfully to consign the whole to the scrap-heap of historical romance. By some curious caprice modern historians have drawn their material largely from his account and that of Welwood.

James Welwood was a physician, apparently of no

special distinction, unless it be accounted such that he was chosen as physician to Mary, the wife of William III. His Memoirs were written at the request of Queen Mary, from whom he extracted a promise that no one should see the MS. but herself. It was found in her cabinet at her death, and published at the request of King William in 1699. He would have his reader choose between apoplexy and poison, between them and them only. If it were not apoplexy, and he is on firm enough ground in discrediting this belief, then he argues there is at least a *prima facie* case for poison. In considering the pros and cons, he affects to hold the scales impartially. As a fact, his arguments in support of the theory of poison are mere fabrications, based on the idle tittle-tattle of the day: as medical science, most of his statements are grotesque. If there be any value in his narrative it is to be found in its involuntary admissions. He allows that King Charles himself expressed no suspicion of being poisoned throughout the whole course of his illness: and he admits 'that there was not anything to be seen upon opening his body, that could reasonably be attributed to the force of poison', but with this reservation, that it 'must be acknowledg'd, that there are poisons which affect originally the animal spirits, and are of so subtle a nature, that they leave no concluding marks upon the bodies of those they kill'. There is no getting to close grips with reasoning of this kind.

From these accounts, along with numerous scattered details in contemporary literature, there is little difficulty in piecing together the true picture of King Charles's fatal illness. One may assert, with considerable confidence, that his death was due to chronic granular kidney (a form of Bright's disease) with uraemic convulsions, a disease that claims the highest proportion of

its victims during the fifth and sixth decades of life. From boyhood Charles had lived hard: the physical strain and the mental stress, that leave their mark on the blood-vessels and through them on the kidney, he had known in full measure. Numerous allusions up and down the literature of the time indicate that he was a habitually large eater, and mainly of albuminous food. Alcohol he had taken freely, at times to gross excess: he had been the slave of sexual passion. Gout had come on him in his later years. We know from the testimony of Ailesbury, of Buckingham, of North, of Fountainhall, and of others, that at length his excesses had combined to destroy the natural vigour of his constitution. During the last few months preceding his death a prolonged attack of gout had prevented his daily exercise, and depressed his buoyant spirits. Amid these evidences of failing health, the last scene was ushered in by an attack of convulsions,¹ so severe as to threaten immediate dissolution. Of the nature of these convulsions there can be no reasonable doubt. After a restless night, he arose pale and ill: his mind was dazed: he could speak, but halted constantly, as though he had forgotten what he wished to say. He went mechanically, as in a stupor, through the preliminaries of his daily toilet: all at once the convulsions were upon him. For all but two hours he remained speechless, but his senses never completely left him. Rapid relief followed the initial bleeding. But from the first there was a threatening of recurrence. The fatal misuse of Cantharides, to excite extensive blistering, must have done much to rob the kidneys of the last vestige of functional activity.² On Wednesday afternoon the skin

¹ 'Convulsivi motus'—Scarburgh.

² Macaulay assigns to the medical profession an undue share of

broke into a cold, clammy sweat: this was the beginning of the end. The relapse was marked by a recurrence of convulsions. By noon on Thursday his state was desperate. About four o'clock a further and more violent attack of convulsions seized him. He was speechless in the fits, but in the intervals conscious to the full. In the evening he joined in prayer with the bishops, and received the sacrament from Hudleston of his own choice. Throughout Thursday night his mind was clear and composed: with death slowly stealing on him he spoke often and tenderly to those around him. At six o'clock on Friday morning, with infinite pathos, the dying monarch asked to see for the last time the light of the rising sun:

. . . . but let me be,
While all around in silence lies,
Moved to the window near, and see
Once more, before my dying eyes,
Bathed in the sacred dew of morn
The wide aerial landscape spread—
The world which was ere I was born,
The world which lasts when I am dead.

At seven o'clock he was seized with urgent breathlessness, with rhythmic variations of waxing and waning. He was bled, but at half-past eight his speech began to fail. At ten o'clock he lay unconscious and dying. Shortly before noon he expired quietly, without any renewal of convulsions.

At the autopsy, performed the following day, the physicians were struck by the oedematous state of the brain, and the large amount of serous fluid in the ventricles, conditions associated later by Traube and

the credit of laying the Stuart dynasty by the heels. The illness would normally have terminated fatally.

others with uraemic convulsions, variously as cause and effect. The characteristic hypertrophy of the heart was found, but recorded in simple terms as 'large and firm'. No special mention is made of the kidney, but that, like the other abdominal organs, it was full of blood : presumably the morbid changes, as is not infrequently the case, had not produced a degree of contraction sufficient to arrest attention at a glance.

It is hard to see how medical knowledge, as it was at this period, could afford a fuller description than this of 'gouty kidney with uraemia'.

It is instructive to consider how the belief that the death was due to apoplexy has arisen. Scarborough speaks only of 'convulsions'. Even the lay mind of Chesterfield, who was in close attendance day and night, commits itself cautiously to the diagnosis of 'something like an apoplexie'. In 1685 there was no limitation of the term as now to rupture or occlusion of a cerebral artery. Wepfer, of Schaffhausen, in 1658 had demonstrated the relation, but it was not yet accepted generally by English physicians, if at all. Burnet seems to have a vague notion of the relationship when he says that 'so many of the small veins of the brain were burst, that the brain was in great disorder and no judgement could be made concerning it'. The term apoplexy at this time possessed a very wide connotation. It embraced all sudden seizures of convulsive or paralytic type, with or without loss of consciousness : a century later the term was still employed generically to cover epilepsy, hysterical fits, infantile convulsions, and other states, as well as haemorrhage from a ruptured cerebral artery. It was legitimate *then* to speak of uraemic convulsions as apoplexy, but has long since ceased to be.

'Fit' was, like apoplexy, at this time a word of equivocal meaning. It has led to a curious mistake on the

part of Ailesbury. He asserts, in common with Welwood, that Charles had previously suffered from fits, and gives the date of the first fit as about Bartholomew tide, 1679. This was the well-known occasion on which James returned hurriedly from abroad to Windsor. The following letters from Sidney's *Diary* clear up the point.

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, *Aug. 29*, 1679.

Honoured Sir,

The last account I gave you from hence was upon Tuesday: that night the King was taken ill with a fit, but much more moderately than upon Friday and Sunday night: since that he has had not the least appearance of one: so that the physicians are of opinion he will have no more of it. . . .

MR. MOUNTSTEVENS TO MR. SIDNEY.

Windsor, *Sept. 2*, 1679.

It is now almost a week since the King has had any appearance of an ague; and you may guess, by the method he takes, he will soon recover his strength as well as his health, having exchanged water-gruels and potions for mutton and partridges, on which he feeds frequently and heartily. . . . Yesterday morning, the Duke of York arrived at Dover, and this morning he came hither, but very slenderly attended, who immediately went to wait upon the King.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sheen, *Aug. 29*.

. . . I will tell you, because I am just now come from Windsor, that he [the King] was to-day much better than I expected to find him, after having passed a very ill day on Wednesday: though I had given the Prince of Orange an account of his health the night

before, with good hopes of the worst being over, and will now be confident it is, since all the physicians are so, and he has missed his fit both yesterday and to-day. . . .

THE DOWAGER LADY SUNDERLAND TO MR. SIDNEY.

Sept. 2, 1679.

I writ to you as soon as my little brains were settled by hearing the King was much mended, and, thanks be to God, does yet continue: but I have the less comfort in it because his fits were put off, like mine, by the Jesuit's powder [quinine, then as now a specific for malaria], and it was as necessary to give it to him as to me, for he was with two fits weaker than I was with more. . . . I believe yet there is scarcely anybody beyond Temple Bar that believes his distemper proceeded from anything but poison, though as little like it as if he had fallen from a horse.

True then, as Ailesbury and Welwood assert, Charles had previously suffered from 'fits', but the fits were fits of ague.

One hundred and fifty years later, Sir Henry Halford at the College of Physicians, from the serene seclusion of the presidential chair, finally stereotyped on history the error that had arisen from a confusion of terms, by supplying the premisses necessary to support the wrong conclusion. He pronounced the death to be a fair specimen of apoplexy, and expressed surprise that Burnet should attribute the King's indifference to all religious exhortations to anything but insensibility from disease. 'The King was incapable of discriminating altogether under the circumstances. Every faculty of his mind was gone. If he were a Protestant therefore, before he was taken ill, he died a Protestant. If he had



already renounced the religion of his father, he died a Roman Catholic.' In proof of his dictum, Sir Henry called attention to the obvious signs of paralysis in the effigy of King Charles in Westminster Abbey.

The appended narrative of the death-bed scene, attested by a number of eyewitnesses, whose credibility is put beyond question by their general agreement as to the circumstances, disposes at once of the assertion that 'every faculty of his mind was gone'. If the narrative be reliable, then there can be no question as to the truth of the death-bed conversion to Romanism.¹

If any one familiar with the appearance of recent facial palsy, as it is seen in life, will study carefully the mask of the Westminster effigy (see illustration), he will see at once that the asymmetry of the face has no resemblance to that due to paralysis. It must be remembered too that the facial paralysis due to rupture of a cerebral vessel is an incomplete and ill-marked condition. As an isolated paralysis, without associated paralysis of the arm or leg of the same side, it is also of exceedingly rare occurrence. Yet we know that his speech was not paralysed, and that his hands were not paralysed—negative evidence of the utmost importance. To this we would add that the muscular relaxation of

¹ I have deliberately written death-bed conversion to Romanism, not profession of Romanism. Charles's leaning to Catholicism was an inevitable consequence of his character and of his circumstances: dour Protestantism stank in his nostrils: the Covenanters' heaven had no attraction for him. He had, on occasion, been present at Mass during his exile. He had in 1670 definitely pledged himself to Catholicism—a pledge the sincerity of which may be gauged by perusing the dispatches of Colbert. Had there been any *formal* reconciliation to the Church of Rome, James or the Duchess of Portsmouth would assuredly have known it. With the questionable exception of Hudleston, all the Catholic accounts regard it as a death-bed *conversion*, though many claim that in his heart he had long espoused their creed. His life did little credit to any creed.

death effaces almost beyond detection such traces of paralysis as may have been present in life.

The portraits of King Charles (see frontispiece) all show well-defined naso-labial ridges, symmetrically placed. The mask shows the same *well-defined* folds, but they are asymmetrical: the left is on a plane below the level of the right. There is no obliteration of the one, no exaggeration of the other, merely displacement of the left: this displacement is part and parcel of a deep conical fosse in the centre of the left cheek. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this was produced by the pressure used in taking the cast from the face after death. In all likelihood the cast was taken after the autopsy had been performed. As the brain was examined the scalp must have been reflected, and this may afford a further explanation of the displacement of the tissues of the face. The fosse may indicate the loss of the underlying teeth in the upper jaw.

Further, it is unreasonable to assume that obvious paralysis of the face was present in life, and yet was not mentioned by any of the onlookers, who have so minutely described what they saw.

So much for the theory of apoplexy. We have already seen that the grounds for suspicion of poison were even more slender. There was no suspicion of poison before death, and none at the time of the autopsy. It must be remembered that the deaths of those in high places were at this time not infrequently ascribed to poison, especially if the actual cause were not apparent. James I had been accused of poisoning Prince Henry, though he really died of typhoid fever. Charles I had been accused of poisoning James I, Cromwell of poisoning Princess Elizabeth. It needed only the comparative obscurity of the funeral to set the rumour going.

It lay with James to decide the character of the

funeral. James's conduct was habitually determined by one of two ruling passions, self-righteousness and parsimony. If he allowed the King, who had covertly died a papist, to be openly buried with the full rites of the English Church, he would have lost caste with the papists. Again, if the funeral had been conducted *coram publico* and by day, the expense would have been necessarily great. Fountainhall says that it was felt it must in that case outshine Cromwell's funeral in splendour. Cromwell's funeral cost £60,000. What would seem to be collateral evidence of the strength of this feeling is to be found in the sum voted by Parliament in January, 1678, for a solemn interment and monument of Charles I. The sum voted, and paid to his son Charles, was £70,000. The designs by Wren for a mausoleum and tomb are still in existence, on paper, but not in stone. Stuart remembrance was short enough for the living: it gave still shorter shrift to the dead.

NARRATIVE OF THE LAST ILLNESS OF CHARLES II

[References to authors are given only when the passage or its context is of special importance: they do not indicate exclusive testimony.]

THE last illness of Charles II set in with tragic suddenness: of the day preceding it we catch some passing glimpses. It was a Sunday, and a sore on his heel, that had troubled him for some little time, robbed him of his customary walk. He had been for years an indefatigable walker. In London or out, unless the weather kept him within doors, he was accustomed to take two brisk walks a day. He walked mostly in St. James's Park, where, followed by his spaniels, he delighted in taking food to the ducks: sometimes he walked in the adjoining Arlington Gardens. Tall beyond average height, and in his later years of spare, wiry build, he would at times stride along so fast that it was difficult to keep pace with him. Like many another of strong physique and active habits, gout claimed him as a victim. A long, tedious attack had kept him much indoors during the few months preceding his death, but by the end of January he was believed to be pretty well quit of it for the time: but this and other causes seemed latterly to have markedly impaired the natural vigour of his constitution. On this last Sunday, instead of walking, he had taken the air in a calèche, with Ailesbury in attendance. Ailesbury's last week of waiting had commenced on January 26, Monday—the usual day—and in the normal course of things should have expired on the following Monday, February 2.

Ailes-
bury.

Ailes-
bury,
Anthony
Wood,
Cibber.

Wel-
wood,
Burnet.

Anthony
Wood.

Fountain-
hall, Wel-
wood.

On this Sunday evening, his father, who of late years ^{Ailes-} had but seldom attended at Court, joined the supper ^{bury.} levée: the King received him with marked friendliness, rallying him genially on his scant attendance, and graciously offered to keep his son with him at Court so long as he lived. At supper the King 'did eat with an excellent stomach and one thing very hard of digestion—a goose egg, if not two'. The King's appetite had always been hearty: in the days of his exile it had cost him the hand of Mademoiselle de Montpensier; but accustomed as she was to Bourbon voracity, maybe the empty purse repelled her at least as much as the full stomach. Pepys depicts him on the day of his Restoration, toying with pease-pudding and pork and boiled beef aboard ship, with the crown awaiting him ashore. He had been, too, a free drinker and figured now and again in drunken orgies, but in his later years, from necessity or from choice, he had eschewed excess. After supper the King repaired, as usual, to the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth 'to amuse himself with the company that ate there'. Of these splendid apartments in Whitehall, furnished luxuriously and with ten times greater wealth and magnificence than those of Queen Catherine, Evelyn ^{Evelyn.} has given us a faithful picture. These apartments, thrice pulled down and thrice rebuilt to gratify her prodigal and sumptuous fancy, presented a sufficient contrast to the homely apartments of the Queen, which in their accommodation and furniture were such as any lady of rank might have occupied. The walls were hung with tapestries of exquisite design and workmanship, the finest product of French handicraft: in them were depicted the palaces of her liege-lord, Louis XIV, Versailles, Saint-Germain, and the rest, mingled with hunting scenes, landscapes, figures of men and women,

and exotic birds. Choice cabinets of Japanese lacquer were laden with great vases of wrought gold and silver; screens and clocks of priceless worth stood side by side with tables and stands of massive silver, while chimney furniture, sconces, branched candlesticks, and braziers were all fashioned in the same metal. On the walls also hung the spoils of the vanquished, 'some of Her Majesty's best paintings.' The saintly Evelyn has penned in a few lines a lurid picture of the scene that met his eyes on that fateful Sunday evening: 'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all manner of dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarin, etc., a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about 20 of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after all was in the dust.' Hither, his own supper ended, came Ailesbury, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, to await his master's pleasure. The King was in the most charming humour imaginable, so that many remarked that they had never seen him in brighter mood. It was Ailesbury's duty to light him to his bedchamber, whither he went at his usual hour. But amid all the glories of this feast of Belshazzar, the handwriting was already on the wall! As Ailesbury handed the candle to the page of the backstairs, it went out, though it was a very large wax candle, and there was no draught. The page of the backstairs cast a superstitious glance at Ailesbury, and shook his head. In his bedchamber Charles undressed himself, put on his nightgown, and,

Evelyn.

Ailes-
bury.

as was his custom, went to ease himself. Here he lingered for some time, joining in merry banter and jesting, with Ailesbury holding the candle, and Killigrew, who possessed an ever ready fund of buffoonery, holding the paper. Charles had not studied in vain the easy manners of the Court of Versailles! Among much else Ailesbury asked the King to use his influence to procure for a near relative some post he coveted, and this Charles immediately granted. Gradually the conversation shifted to the subject of the palace the King was building at Winchester, in the belief that the air would suit his health better than that of Windsor, and R. North. Ailesbury records his ominous words, 'I shall be most happy this week, for my building will be covered with lead.' In less than seven days his dead body lay in its leaden shell. Ailesbury.

As gentleman and groom respectively of the bed-chamber, Ailesbury and Killigrew shared the King's room at nights. They undressed themselves in an adjacent room, and were then lighted by the page of the backstairs to the royal bed-chamber. As soon as the page had retired, they shut up the door on the inside with a brass knob, and went to bed, but not always, alas! to sleep. The large open grate was filled with Scotch coal, that kept alight all night: in the bright firelight a dozen spaniels wandered restlessly from bed to bed: an array of pendulum clocks chimed the quarters, and, each observing its own peculiar times and seasons, kept the night alive with unceasing discord. The King, inured to this babel of noise, slept soundly: not so Ailesbury; in his broken slumber he heard the King turn himself about from time to time: as a rule he slept the sleep that tosses not, nor turns. On waking, Charles called, as was his wont, to his attendant gentlemen, who noticed

no strangeness in his voice. While they slept on, Charles rose from bed and passed from his bedchamber to his private closet. Here Robert Howard, a groom of the bedchamber, met him looking pale as ashes and ghastly, and unable or unwilling to say a single word. Meantime Ailesbury had risen and opened the door, so that the servants might come and attend to the fire, and then passed out to his own dressing-room. In the room next the bedchamber he saw 'the physicians and surgeons' waiting to dress the King's heel, and here Robert Howard accosted him with an inquiry as to how the King had slept, and described the sight he had just seen. Upon this Ailesbury at once fetched the notorious Chiffins, first page of the backstairs and keeper of the closet, and sent him to beg the King to return to his bedchamber, as the morning was bitter, and he in his nightgown only. Chiffins went instantly in search of the King, but finding he paid no heed to what he said returned and told Ailesbury, who urged him to make a second attempt, as etiquette forbade any one else to enter the private closet. This time the King returned to the bedchamber with his face pale as death. The Earl of Craven, colonel of the footguards, was there, waiting to receive from the King the pass-word for the day: he handed him the paper on which the days of the month and the pass-words were written down, but the King was speechless. Others who were now present spoke to him, but the King either was silent, or stopped in the middle of speaking, as if he had forgotten what he intended to say. At last the King became sensible of his own condition, *and ordered¹ the company*

Chester-
field.

¹ I have been driven to this inference by the force of the circumstantial evidence. It is irrational to assume that all the physicians and surgeons, except Edmund King, would have left him, when



SIR EDMUND KING

Who 'blooded the King'

From a portrait in the Royal College of Physicians



to withdraw, leaving only Ailesbury, Edmund King,¹ physician and quondam surgeon, and the barber, who attended daily to shave the King. During his shaving Ailesbury he always sat 'with his knees against the window'. The barber had just fixed the linen on one side and was passing behind the chair to fix it on the other, when the King fell back with a cry into the arms of Ailesbury, who was standing close beside him. The hour was then eight o'clock precisely, and Monday morning. The violence of the convulsions is attested by Scarburgh, and is also duly recorded in the official announcement of the Privy Council, who met about twelve o'clock noon in the antechamber of the sick-room, and were in almost constant session throughout the illness, communicating frequently with the physicians in attendance. Of the characteristic features of the convulsions no trustworthy record survives, and it is instructive to note generally that the more minute the description the further removed was the writer from the scene described. Prompt treatment was at hand. King, who had been a surgeon, seems to have hesitated, and well he might, for it was the law that no one should bleed the King without the consent of his chief ministers, and the penalty of disobedience was death. In a hurried consultation, in which King alleged that His Majesty would die if he were not bled, Ailesbury seems to have taken the initiative, and asking King if he had his

North's
Examen.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

Van
Citters.

Examen.

Chaillot
MS.

Ailes-
bury.

they saw his condition, except under compulsion. The company too would have stayed for curiosity, if for no other motive, and we know that they did not.

¹ This portrait of Sir Edmund King, 'who blooded the King,' is in the Royal College of Physicians in London. It was painted by Lely, and engraved by Williams. At the foot of the latter, King is described as the person 'qui praesenti animo (ope divina) sereniss: regem Car II a morte subitanea dexterrime eripuit Februarii 2, 1684.'

lancet with him, and, receiving an affirmative reply, instructed him forthwith to bleed the King. The bleeding was subsequently approved by the whole body of physicians in consultation, and the Privy Council voted a sum of £1,000 to King, which was never paid, James finding a knighthood a more convenient method of discharging the debt. Sixteen ounces of blood were removed from a vein in his right arm with immediate good effect. As was the approved practice at this time, the King was allowed to remain in the chair in which the convulsions seized him; his teeth were held forcibly open to prevent him biting his tongue; the regimen was, as Roger North pithily describes it, 'first to get him to wake, and then to keep him from sleeping.' Urgent messages had been dispatched to the King's numerous personal physicians, who quickly came flocking to his assistance: they were summoned regardless of distinctions of creed and politics, and they came. They ordered cupping-glasses to be applied to his shoulders forthwith, and deep scarification to be carried out, by which they succeeded in removing another eight ounces of blood. A strong antimonial emetic was administered, but as the King could be got to swallow only a small portion of it, they determined to render assurance doubly sure by a full dose of Sulphate of Zinc. Strong purgatives were given, and supplemented by a succession of clysters. The hair was shorn close and pungent blistering agents applied all over his head; and as though this were not enough, the red-hot cautery was requisitioned as well. So severe were the convulsions that the physicians at first despaired of his life, but in some two hours consciousness was completely restored. As soon as tidings of the King's seizure reached Catherine, she hurried from her apartments to his bedside. The spectacle of her

Scar-
burgh
MS.

Ailes-
bury.

Scar-
burgh
MS.
Chaillot
MS.

Dugdale.

Scar-
burgh
MS.
Scar-
burgh
MS.

Chaillot
MS.

Chester-
field.

stricken husband so overwhelmed her with emotion that she gave way to an outburst of hysterical grief. Charles had spoken her name and asked for her as soon as speech and sense returned to him, but her anguish robbed her of the power of words, and she withdrew to her own apartments. Letter to Roper.

As soon as the first bleeding was over, Ailesbury had gone in hot haste to St. James's Palace to summon the Duke of York, who came so instantly that he arrived with one slipper and one shoe. The Duchess followed close on his footsteps, to find the Lord Keeper Guildford and the Earl of Bath, first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, already there. The King was now moved from the chair to his bed, where the Duke of York had hurried to his side. Seeing Ailesbury, the King grasped his hand with the words, 'I see you love me dying as well as living,' and thanked him for inducing Edmund King to bleed him, and also for having sent Chiffins to bring him from his private closet. His Majesty then told his own tale. He felt unwell on rising from bed, and went to his closet to get some of the famous 'King's Drops': these were a volatile extract of bone, made up in the King's own laboratory after a formula devised by Dr. Jonathan Goddard, in high repute on the Continent, and commended by no less an authority than Sydenham. There he walked about, hoping to get better, but at Ailesbury's repeated request he came out of his closet, and down the three or four stairs leading from the closet to the bedchamber; here he was attacked with giddiness and nearly fell. Ailesbury.
Chaillot MS.

By this time the King was 'in a pretty good state', which Chesterfield ascribes to the joint agency of the medical remedies and the blessing of God, so that the physicians were able to pronounce him out of danger for the present. Letter to Ormond.

Letter to Arran. As soon as the news of the King's precarious state spread to the town, genuine sorrow was manifest on every face, and, fear inspiring belief, rumours of his death were rife: in the hearts of his subjects, and not least in the hearts of the humblest of them, his easy *bonhomie* more than atoned for the multitude of his sins.

Van Citters. Dugdale. At Whitehall the gates had been closed from the first to all but members of the Court, and those to whom James granted the special right of entry. Horse-guards and foot-guards were posted everywhere about Whitehall: sentries were doubled and redoubled, and orders sent to all the chief ports to prevent the dispatch of messages to the Duke of Monmouth or the Prince of Orange, or to their sympathizers. Barillon received special permission to send one letter to Louis. Orders were also sent to the Lords Lieutenant of the Counties to take steps to guard against any rising, should the worst occur.

In the afternoon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenants of the City of London sent to inquire of the King's state, carrying also to the Duke a loyal assurance of support in case of disturbance. The message gave great satisfaction to James.

Barillon. In the course of the afternoon it became known that the illness had taken a favourable turn, and in their joy the whole town sang the praises of the men who by their promptitude in bleeding him had been the instruments, under Providence, of saving the King's life. The Duke was able to announce to the foreign ministers that the King was now out of danger.

Van Citters. Scarburgh MS. In the evening of Monday the King's physicians again met in consultation, and with a view to relieving the pressure of 'the humours' on his brain they administered remedies to promote sneezing, along with additional aperients. Noxious plasters were applied to

the soles of his feet. A preparation of cowslip flowers and spirit of Sal Ammoniac was designed to stimulate and to strengthen the brain by the combined action of the remedies. Soothing draughts were prescribed to allay thirst and to stave off the scalding of the urine, which they were aware must inevitably result from the freedom with which they had made use of the blistering properties of Cantharides. Nourishment was ordered in the form of light broth and of ale made without hops; and with this, therapeutic creativeness rested from its labours on the first day.

Early on Tuesday morning another consultation was held, at which no less than twelve physicians were present. The success of their remedies seemed to warrant them in pursuing treatment on the same lines as they had already adopted. The King complained of pain in the throat, and on examination a superficial excoriation—probably a result of the efforts made to separate his teeth forcibly during the convulsions—was discerned, which was treated with an astringent and soothing gargle.

Chaillot
MS.
Scar-
burgh
MS.

The symptoms still seemed to indicate the likelihood of a recurrence of convulsions, and to guard against this the physicians prescribed an anti-spasmodic julep of Black Cherry Water, and other ingredients, which at that time were highly esteemed in the treatment of convulsive disorders. At the same time his jugular veins were mulcted in a further ten ounces of blood.

Evelyn.
Scar-
burgh
MS.
Allen's
Synopsis.

The King's condition was by this time so far reassuring that messengers were sent on Tuesday into every county to carry the happy news. To the Duke it seemed imperative to allay at once all turbulent aspirations that might else arise: for in spite of the hopeful tidings, we find the Bishop of Ely staying at the King's side throughout Tuesday night. So

Ailes-
bury.

Letter to
Roper.

matters continued on the whole favourably until Wednesday.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

At their morning consultation the physicians were so well pleased with their treatment, that they contented themselves with a single modification of their remedies—a state of therapeutic inactivity most uncommon in those days. At the afternoon consultation there were already signs that all was not well: fresh remedies were introduced to support the strength and to combat exhaustion. In the evening His Majesty broke into a cold sweat, and the physicians again declared that his condition was dangerous. Fresh convulsions accompanied the relapse. Spirit of Human Skull was forthwith administered, a sure harbinger of impending dissolution.

Ailes-
bury.
Van
Citters.

Luttrell.

Chester-
field's
Diary.
R. North,
*Autobio-
graphy*.
Examen.

Every night a posse of physicians, six in all, had watched by the King, but voluntary helpers augmented this number, once even to fourteen. The Privy Council also deputed Chesterfield and two other of their number to join the night vigil: while the Lord Keeper North was almost constantly there in close touch with the physicians. Lord North ill concealed his impatience of the physicians, who prudently possessed their prophetic souls in silence. To his demand for infallibility they replied by vague talk of symptoms, and the means by which they hoped to combat them. He petulantly asked why they entertained the Council with such discourses and avoided an opinion on the main issue. 'Upon which, after the Spanish way in difficult cases, they did *hazer il bove*, that is, stared and said nothing'—a procedure which his lordship regarded as of sinister significance.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

On Wednesday night, as they watched, the physicians were struck by the fact that each night the symptoms had undergone some exacerbation, and this periodicity

seemed to indicate to them that they had an intermittent fever to deal with. The fact that some such intermittent fever, attended by convulsions at the outset, was, to the knowledge of some of them, prevalent at the time in town, lent colour to their suspicions. Accordingly, at the morning consultation on Thursday, they communicated their opinion to their colleagues, and a unanimous decision was arrived at to administer the vaunted febrifuge, Peruvian Bark, and to persist in its administration at appointed hours. Ferdinand Mendez, personal physician to Queen Catharine, at first expressed some dissent, but his signature to the prescription testifies to his subsequent capitulation: both the King and the Queen supported him in his dissent. Van Citters.

To-day the physicians were able to meet the Council Examen. with more hopeful faces. With manifest satisfaction they told the Council that they were of the firm opinion that the King had a fever. The announcement gave no relief to Lord North, who asked with pained amazement, 'What they meant,' and 'Could anything be worse?' But one of the physicians answered, 'We now know what to do.' 'And what is that?' said North. 'To give the Cortex,' answered the physician; and so they did, but the recipient was already '*nullis medicabilis herbis*'.

The *London Gazette* of Thursday morning, which had gone to press after the formal meeting of the Privy Council at 5 p.m. on Wednesday, and before the illness assumed its gravest aspect, contained the following announcement:—

'At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 4th of February 1684 at five in the afternoon. *London Gazette,*
Feb. 2-5.
'The Lords of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council have thought fit, for preventing false reports, to make known that His Majesty, upon Monday morning

last, was seized with a violent fit, that gave great cause to fear the issue of it : but after some hours, an amendment appeared, which with the blessing of God being improved by the application of proper and seasonable remedies, is now so advanced, that the physicians have this day as well as yesterday given this account to the Council, viz. That they conceive His Majesty to be in a condition of safety, and that he will in a few days be freed from his distemper.

JOHN NICHOLAS.'

The happy news was forthwith acclaimed with joy : the church bells were rung, and preparations were made to light bonfires in the streets. Gradually the truth began to leak out, and joy was turned into anxious sorrow. Several times during the day report had it that the King was dead. Prayers were said in all the churches, and in the Court chapels, in which the chaplains relieved one another every half quarter of an hour, from the time the King began to be in danger till his death. About four o'clock in the afternoon there was a fresh access of fever with a recurrence of convulsions, more violent than before : so much so that the doctors were plunged into despair, and the Bishops were summoned to the bedside. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, together with Bishop Ken, consecrated only a week before at Lambeth Chapel Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to administer spiritual consolation to the dying King. Ken¹ indeed had been with the King since Wednesday morning, and but for the short period of Hudleston's visit waited at the royal bedside without intermission for

Examen.
Barillon.

Evelyn.

Van
Citters.

Hawkins.

¹ It was inevitable that Charles, the 'prince among dissemblers', should be drawn to the man who has left as a watchword to Wykehamists for all time, 'Let all thy converse be sincere.' A piquancy was added to the friendship by the fact that Ken had refused lodging to Nell Gwynne, who had been quartered on his prebend's house during one of the King's visits to Winchester.

three whole days and nights, watching to suggest at proper intervals pious and appropriate thoughts, as befitted so serious an occasion. To the Archbishop and to the Bishop of London the King turned a deaf ear: Ailesbury attributes the Archbishop's failure to his timid manner and low voice, Burnet that of the Bishop of London to his cold way of speaking and to the unpopularity of his rigid protestantism at Court. These Bishops, well knowing the King's liking for Ken, desired him to see if the King would listen to him: his voice was 'like to a nightingale for the sweetness of it'. Ken read the prayers for the sick appointed by the Common Prayer Book, and when he came to the place where the sick person is exhorted to make confession of his sins he told the King that he was under no obligation to confess, and merely asked him if he was sorry for his sins. Charles said that he was sorry: thereupon Ken pronounced the absolution, and asked him 'if he pleased to receive the sacrament'. The King at first made no answer, but as Ken earnestly repeated his request the King thanked him, and answered that there was time enough yet to consider that, and that he would think of it.

Burnet.

Letter to Roper.

Ailesbury.

James's Memoirs.

Ailesbury.

Barillon.

For a while let us shift the scene. At noon tidings had reached the French ambassador, Barillon, that the physicians despaired of the King's life, and that they did not think he could live through the coming night. At once he betook himself to Whitehall, and to the antechamber of the King's bedroom, to which James had given orders that he should be admitted at any time. As soon as he arrived the Duke of York said to him, 'The physicians think the King is in very grave danger: I beg you will assure your master he will always find in me a loyal and grateful servant.' James had from the first remained almost unceasingly at his

brother's side: occasionally he came into the ante-chamber to give orders as to the state of affairs in town. Amid his overwhelming sorrow he found time and thought to devote to the exclusion of the Duke of Monmouth and the Prince of Orange, and to obtain the feeble signature of his dying brother to a lease of the
 Evelyn. Excise. This latter was at best a shady transaction, and though 'the major part of the Judges (but as some think not the best lawyers) pronounced it legal, four dissented'.

Barillon. The Duke several times invited Barillon into the King's bedchamber, talked with him about the state of affairs in town, saying that he had received assurances of support from all sides, and that he would be proclaimed king without any active opposition, as soon as Charles was dead.

At five o'clock Barillon withdrew to the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth: he found her in the depths of anguish at the hopeless verdict of the physicians. Grief¹ and the immediate prospect of

¹ Macaulay thinks that the grief of the Duchess was not wholly selfish. It is difficult to believe this of a woman who had habitually sold the secrets of her lover to the King of the land of her birth. During the long years she spent in England her eyes were always set on Paris. A *tabouret* at the French Court was to her the be-all and end-all of existence. She well knew, as events were quick to prove, that, Charles dead, she could place no reliance on James: to the English nation she was the Scarlet Woman. Charles's conversion was a bold bid to gain the eternal gratitude of Louis. Barillon's dispatches unequivocally state her anxiety. She was accustomed to play at high stakes: she played now and won. Louis stood between her and her creditors for life.

The Catholics resented the fact that Charles's conversion should have been effected by a notorious prostitute, and endeavoured to identify it with other names. The Somers Broadside makes P. M. a C. F. the moving spirit. In 1856 Macaulay hazarded the guess that these initials designated Père Mansuete, a Cordelier Friar. He clearly did not know that in 1685 Anthony Wood had anticipated his solution. He had made a marginal note to an extant Somers Broadside, 'P. . . M. a Capuchin Fryer.'

a great loss did not hinder her from drawing Barillon into her closet and saying: 'Mr. Ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and if it were known I should lose my head. At the bottom of his heart the King is a Catholic, but he is surrounded by Protestant bishops, and no one tells him of his situation, or speaks to him of God. I cannot any longer enter his room with decency: besides, the Queen is almost always there. The Duke of York's thoughts are taken up with his own affairs, and they are too important to allow him to take the care he should of the conscience of the King. Go and tell him that I have conjured you to remind him to think what can be done to save the King's soul: he is master of the King's room, and can make whomsoever he wishes withdraw. Lose no time, for if there be ever so little delay it will be too late!'

Barillon returned instantly to the Duke of York. Queen Catherine had just quitted the King's bedside in a swoon, and the physicians had improved the occasion by bleeding her. The Duke had followed the fainting Queen to her apartments, which were in communication with the King's room: here Barillon found him, and told him what the Duchess of Portsmouth had said. The Duke seemed as though roused from a dream. 'You are right,' said he, 'there is no time to lose: I would rather risk everything than not do my duty on this occasion.' Barillon remained in the Queen's apartments, while James returned to the King.

Soon after six o'clock, on a pretext of again visiting the Queen, James came back and told Barillon he had spoken to the King. He said that he had found him resolute against receiving the sacrament, which the Protestant Bishops were urging him to receive, to their exceeding surprise. Some of them, he said, were sure

to remain continuously in the King's room, unless he could find some excuse to make every one withdraw, so that he might talk freely to the King his brother, and induce him to make a formal abjuration of heresy, and confess himself to a Catholic priest.

The difficulty of effecting this without exciting suspicion was great. The Duke and Barillon laid their heads together to accomplish a project that commended itself equally to both of them, but for very different reasons. The first proposition, that the King's bedchamber should be cleared of the company, on the pretext that the French ambassador had some private communication from Louis to Charles, came from James. Barillon was ready to consent, but pointed out that the sacerdotal *séance* must needs far exceed the time needed to convey a message, and would tend to excite suspicion.

James next suggested that the Queen should be brought, as though to take a last farewell, and to ask pardon of her lord if she had ever disobeyed him; and to prolong the time, James was ready to repeat the scene in his own person. Barillon had learnt in the school of experience that the fewer the accomplices the more successful the plot, so they agreed that the Duke should speak openly to his brother, but in so low a voice that no one should hear. They would then only imagine that the Duke was consulting the King on affairs of state, and ascertaining his wishes as to what he would have done in case of his death.

Then the Duke and Barillon returned to the King's bedchamber, when the Duke, ordering the bystanders out of earshot, stooped down and whispered into the King's ear. Though Barillon was in the room he did not hear what the Duke said: still less the company, some twenty in number, for they had retired into the

ante-chamber, leaving the door open. The King was heard to say from time to time, 'Yes, with all my heart.' In his extreme weakness, he did not always catch the Duke's low voice, and had to ask him to repeat his words. He was anxious lest James's action should lead him into subsequent trouble, but the Duke expressed himself ready to run all risks in the sacred cause. The whole interview between the brothers lasted about a quarter of an hour.

The Duke of York then left the bedchamber, as though to go to the Queen's apartments, taking Barillon with him. 'The King has consented,' said James, 'to my bringing him a priest: I dare not bring him any of the Duchess's, as they are too well known: send quickly and seek one.' Barillon replied that he would do so with pleasure, but that it would mean loss of time, whereas the Queen's priests he had just seen in a closet next to her chamber. The Duke replied, 'You are right.' At the same moment, seeing the Count of Castelmelhor, he addressed himself to him, and found him all zeal to help, undertaking himself to speak to the Queen at once. Quickly returning, the Count said to Barillon, 'Though I were to risk my life in this business, I would gladly do it: but I know none of the Queen's priests who understands English, and can speak it.' All the Queen's priests were Portuguese, and those of the Duchess of York Italian.

Chaillot
MS.

Chaillot
MS.

On this the Duke and Barillon decided to send to the Venetian Resident's. But as time was pressing, the Count went first to the room where the Queen's priests were, and found there among them a Scotch priest, one John Hudleston. He had been instrumental in saving Charles from his pursuers during his flight to the sea-coast after the battle of Worcester, at Molesey, where he was residing as tutor in Whitgrave's house-

*London
Gazette,
Nov. 21,
1678.
Chaillot
MS.*

hold. For this service Hudleston had been exempted by name from the most severe Acts of Parliament directed against the priests, whereas many of them had been driven to flee the country. Castelmelhor took care to see that Hudleston was duly instructed in what he should say to the King on so serious an occasion.

*Hudle-
ston's
Brief
Account.*

Disguised in a wig and cassock, Hudleston was led by Castelmelhor to the door of an apartment which communicated by a small flight of steps with the King's bedchamber. This was between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. Here he was ordered to wait, and on no account whatever to stir thence. In the haste Hudleston had not had time to bring along with him the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and was greatly exercised in mind how to procure it. Divine Providence, however, so ordered it that Father Bento de Lemoz, one of the Queen's Portuguese priests, came, and, learning his difficulty, offered himself to go to St. James's and bring the most Holy Sacrament along with him.

Higgon's. The priest quickly procured the Sacrament, as some say from the chapel at Somerset House, and brought it to the backstairs.

Meantime Barillon had informed the Duke that all was in readiness: James thereupon sent Chiffins to Hudleston, with orders to bring him as soon as a summons came from himself. Then in a loud voice he said, 'Gentlemen, the King wishes everybody to retire, except the Earls of Bath and of Feversham.' The former was Groom of the Stole, while the latter was Chamberlain to Queen Catherine; in later years he earned the sobriquet of 'King Dowager'. The physicians withdrew into a closet and the door was shut behind them.

*Chaillot
MS.*

Charles had desired James to stay alone with Hudleston, and to dismiss every one else, but the Duke

declined consent. Seeing that the King was now actually sinking, the decision, as events proved, was wise. The Lords, Bishops, and others withdrew into the antechamber adjoining the bedroom, and the Duke of York latched the door behind them.

Barillon.
Somers
Broad-
side.

The Duke now let in Hudleston by a secret door at the right side of the bed. As soon as the King saw him he cried out, 'You that saved my body is now come to save my soul.' Hudleston approached the bed and knelt down to present the King with such service as he could, for the honour of God and the eternal salvation of the King's soul. Charles then declared: That he desired to die in the faith and communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church: That he was most heartily sorry for all the sins of his past life, and particularly for having deferred his reconciliation so long: That through the merits of Christ's Passion he hoped for salvation: That he was in charity with all the world: That he pardoned his enemies with all his heart, and desired pardon of all whom he had offended in any way; and that, if God were pleased to spare his life awhile, he would amend it, and detest all sin.

Chaillot
MS.

Ailes-
bury.

Hudleston next advised His Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the sacrament of penance, and the King most willingly assented, making confession of his life without reserve and with sincere contrition. To show still further that his repentance was not mere remorse, Hudleston desired him to repeat along with him the following short act of contrition: 'O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the sins of my life past for the love of Thee, whom I love above all things, and I firmly purpose by Thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more, Amen, Sweet Jesus, Amen. Into Thy hands, Sweet Jesus, I commend my soul. Mercy, Sweet Jesus, Mercy.' Charles pronounced

James's
Memoirs.

these words in a clear, audible voice, frequently lifting up his hands, and Hudleston, admitting his sacramental penance, gave him absolution. He then asked His Majesty if he would accept the other sacraments of the Church. Charles replied that he desired to partake of all that would help and succour a Catholic Christian in his condition. Hudleston next asked him if he would receive the precious body and blood of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. The answer came, 'If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it.' The Host had not yet been brought, so Hudleston asked permission to proceed to the Sacrament of extreme unction : the King replied, 'With all my heart,' and he 'anoyled' him.

Hudleston was now called to the door, where Father Bento de Lemoz handed him the Sacrament he had brought. Then returning to the King, he entreated him to prepare himself to receive it. The King raised himself up and said, 'Let me meet my Heavenly Father in a better posture than lying on my bed.' Hudleston humbly begged him to repose himself, saying that God Almighty, who saw his heart, would accept his good intention. The King again recited with Hudleston the previous act of contrition, and received the holy sacrament for his *viaticum*, with the utmost devoutness. After this communion, Hudleston read the prayers termed 'the Recommendation of the Soul', appointed by the Catholic Church for the dying. The act of contrition was recited a third time at the King's request, and when it was finished, Hudleston, for his last spiritual encouragement, said, 'Your Majesty hath now received the comfort and benefit of all the sacraments that a good Christian, ready to depart out of the world, can have or desire.' Now it only rests, that you think upon the death and passion of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ,

of which I present unto you this figure.' Then holding up a crucifix before the King's eyes, he implored him, 'Lift up therefore the eyes of your soul, and represent to yourself your sweet Saviour here crucified, bowing down His head to kiss you: His arms stretched out to embrace you: His body and members all bloody and pale with death to redeem you. And as you see Him dead and fixed upon the Cross for your redemption, so have His remembrance fixed and fresh in your heart. Beseech Him with all humility, that His most precious blood may not be shed in vain for you; and that it will please Him, by the merits of His bitter death and passion to pardon and forgive you all your offences; and finally to receive your soul into His blessed hands; and when it shall please Him to take it out of this transitory world, to grant you a joyful resurrection, and an eternal crown of glory in the next. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

Speech
It 1

Hudleston having recommended His Majesty with all his powers of devotion to the divine mercy and protection, withdrew from the bedchamber, and was no more seen. The whole ceremony had occupied about three-quarters of an hour. While it was in progress significant glances were exchanged among those waiting in the antechamber, but nothing was said except in whispers. The presence of the Earls of Bath and Feversham, both of whom were Protestants, did something to allay the apprehension of the Bishops and others. But the surreptitious coming and going did not escape the notice of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting and of the priests, and human nature could ill bear the concealment of such a secret in its bosom.

Chaillot
MS.
Barillon.

The ceremony over, the King seemed to rally his strength, and hopes were entertained that His Majesty

Scar-
burgh
MS.

was to be miraculously rescued from death. The physicians, however, declared that there was no real betterment, and that he could hardly live through the night. They had realized early in the afternoon that his failing strength called for the exhibition of powerful remedies, to support the heart. The famous Raleigh's Antidote, the virtue of which resided more in the multitude of its ingredients than in their potency, had already been brought into action, and to leave no stone unturned superstition was summoned to the aid of science in the exhibition of powdered Goa stone. No less than fourteen eminent physicians breathed a benediction on this unholy alliance.

As evening came on signs were not wanting that the whole gamut of pharmacy had been exhausted. Peruvian Bark was given in greater quantity, Sal Ammoniac with greater frequency: and later, the Oriental Bezoar stone, from its normal habitat in the stomach of an eastern goat, was transferred to its last resting-place in that of the King.

Barillon.

*Stuart
Papers.*

Letter
to Roper.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

Through the weary watches of Thursday night Charles's mind remained clear and undimmed: nothing in life became him as the leaving of it. With calm composure he looked approaching death in the eyes. His courage and unconcern amazed all who had known his soft voluptuous nature. In his direst distress he allowed that he was suffering, but thanked God that he did so patiently. Now and then he would seem to long for death to come quickly, and with thoughtful courtesy asked pardon of those around him for taking so long a-dying. He hoped that his work in this world was over, and that he would soon pass to another and better. He showed the greatest affection and tenderness to his brother James, who knelt by his bedside kissing his hand, seemingly overwhelmed with an

anguish of sorrow. Charles thanked James for having always been the best of brothers and friends, and asked pardon for any hardship he might have inflicted on him from time to time, and for the risks of fortune he had run on his account. He gave him his breeches Evelyn. and keys, and told him that he now freely left him all, and begged God to give him a prosperous reign.

About midnight Thursday Queen Catherine came to the bedside, and Charles spoke most tenderly to her. She was so overwhelmed with consternation and grief at the spectacle of her dying husband, that she fainted away several times, and was carried to her bed, where she was kept at the bidding of her physician. Later she sent a message by the Marquis of Halifax to ask pardon of Charles, if ever in her life she had offended him. 'Alas! poor woman!' said he, 'she beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.'

Van
Citters.
James's
Memoirs.

Van
Citters.

The Duchess of York stood by the bedside, and, like her husband, showed deep sorrow at their impending loss.

Letter to
Roper.

Charles twice recommended the Duchess of Ports- mouth to James, and entreated him not to let poor Nell Gwynne starve. Then he commended his natural children to James. The Dukes of Grafton, Southampton, Northumberland, St. Albans, and Richmond were all there. The Duke of Monmouth was absent, and his name did not even pass his father's lips: his ill-concealed ambition to supplant his uncle in the succession to the crown forbade its mention.

Barillon.

Van
Citters.

Charles blessed his children one by one, drawing them down to him on the bed. Then the Bishops besought him, as the Lord's anointed and the father of his country, to bless them also and all those that were by, and in them the whole body of his subjects. Whereupon all in the room, which was now full, fell

Chester-
field.

down upon their knees, and the King raised himself in bed, and asking pardon if he had neglected anything, or acted contrary to the best rules of good government, pronounced a solemn blessing on them all. So moving was the scene, that scarce an eye was dry.

Letter to Roper. The Bishops remained by the bedside of the dying man to the end. Ken, at their joint request, spoke for them all, they assisting only with prayers and pious ejaculations, as they saw occasion. The King joined heartily in the prayers. Ken desired him to remember his end, and to endeavour to make a good one, Charles said that he had thought of it, and hoped he had made his peace with God. Ken repeatedly urged him to receive the sacrament, but he persistently declined it.

Somers Broad-side. At six o'clock, at the first glimmering of dawn, Charles asked them to draw back the curtains of his bed and to open the windows, so that he might gladden his dying eyes for the last time with the light of the rising sun. Then he asked that an eight-day clock in his room might be wound, for to-day was the day, else it would run down.

Hawkins. At seven o'clock he was seized with urgent breathlessness, that compelled him to sit upright in bed. Now and again its stress abated for a while, but only to come again. The physicians bled him again to twelve ounces, but their efforts were ineffectual. As a last resource they plied him with their most active heart tonics.

Barillon. At half-past eight his speech began to fail: at ten o'clock he lay unconscious and dying; and shortly, Luttrell. before noon on Friday the sixth of February he expired calmly without any return of convulsions. *London Gazette*, Feb. 5-9.

Aprice. On Friday morning the churches were thronged with people, come there to pray for the King, all in tears and with dejected looks, so that it was difficult to get

Letter to Roper.

through the service. Outside the Church and in the streets sorrow was to be seen in every face; the sense of loss was general; poor as well as rich paid their tribute to his memory: 'there was scarce a servant maid betwixt White Chapell and Westminster, who was not in black crape, the Woman's mourning at this time, upon this occasion.'

The *London Gazette* of February 9 contained the following order for general mourning:—

By HENRY DUKE OF NORFOLK, EARL MARSHAL
OF ENGLAND.

Whereas His Majesty hath been pleased to command me to take care that the present mourning may be performed with that decency that becomes so great an occasion: This is therefore to inform all persons concerned, that 'tis expected they put themselves into the deepest mourning that is possible: (Long Cloaks only excepted), And that as well all Lords, as Privy Councillors, and Officers of His Late Majesty's Household do cover their coaches and chairs and clothe their Livery Servants with black cloth; and that none presume to use any varnish'd or bullion nails to be seen on their coaches or chairs: except his Majesty, the Queen Consort, Queen Dowager and their Royal Highnesses.

Given under my hand this ninth day of February 1684. In the first year of His Majesty's reign, King James the Second, over England, etc.

NORFOLK, MARSHAL.

Louis at once sent through Barillon private assurance to James of his sorrow and sympathy, and publicly testified the same by prohibiting in his Court the amusement of assemblies and operas, and by an order of mourning to be worn 'as long as the deceased King wore it for the death of the late Queen', his consort.

So soon as the King was dead, Ailesbury as first Gentleman of the Bedchamber offered himself for the duty of watching the body, and of ordering all that was needful. This sad duty he fulfilled in floods of tears.

He had been present at the King's death, having returned to his bedside at ten o'clock in the morning after a brief period of repose.

Barillon. James too had at once withdrawn to give vent to his sorrow in the privacy of his own chamber. A quarter of an hour later he met the Privy Council in the Council-chamber, and after expressing in a few words his deep sorrow at the death of his brother, addressed them in a memorable, but by him ill-remembered, speech of fervent devotion to the established government both in Church and State. The Council were then sworn, and a Proclamation was ordered to be published, confirming all officials in their present posts. Then the King rose from his seat at the head of the board, and, worn out with fatigue and sorrow, retired to his bedchamber, accompanied by the Council to the door. Then, returning to the Council-chamber, they prepared the order for the Proclamation according to precedent. An influential committee of Lords of the Privy Council was appointed 'to consider of the disposall of the late King's Body'. It was further ordered 'that the Vice-Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household be then present with their Lords, and that their Lords do send for such Persons and Bookes of Presidents that they may judge to their better information herein, and report their opinion thereupon to his Majesty, and that in order thereunto their Lords do meet in the Council Chamber at Six of ye Clock this evening.'

Privy Council Records.

Evelyn.

Between three and four o'clock on Friday afternoon James's accession was publicly acclaimed without any commotion. The gladness, however, was tempered with grief for the late King. After the Proclamation the Council and others went to the King's bedchamber to salute the King and Queen. James had just risen from

Barillon.

Evelyn.

his bed, and was in his undress. Queen Mary was still in bed, but put out her hand to be kissed; signs of her grief were evident in her face. The Council also paid a visit of condolence to the Queen Dowager in her bedchamber. Here later she received the foreign envoys 'on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, cieling and floor hung with black, and tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrious and solemn'.

On Saturday the King's body was opened by the physicians. They noted the fullness of the veins and arteries on the surface of the brain. No ruptured vessel was detected, though the substance of the brain was examined. Lower, an avowed Whig, was present at the autopsy, as he had been in the sick-room: his accurate anatomical descriptions formed the most valuable portion of Willis's treatise *De Cerebro*. They were struck with the abundance of serous fluid in the ventricles and in the substance of the brain. The right lung and pleura were firmly adherent to the chest-wall from inflammation of long standing. Probably this may be referred to the illness mentioned by Povy to Pepys, when some thought the King was in a consumption. The heart was found to be large and firm, that is to say, in modern medical parlance, it had undergone hypertrophy, but was otherwise free from disease. No abnormality was found in the abdomen, but it was noted that the liver, spleen, and kidneys were full of blood.

After the autopsy the body was embalmed. A cast of the face was taken, presumably after the autopsy and embalming. This was customary at the death of a king or queen or of other important persons. Casts were taken in plaster, after the face had been smeared with pomatum. This was the mould, from which a

Van
Citters.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

Burnet.

Van
Citters.

Pepys,
Sept. 8,
1665.

Scar-
burgh
MS.

Van
Citters.
Ailes-
bury.

Pepys, Feb. 10, 1669. wax-mask was prepared. This mask formed the face of the effigy, dressed in the dead man's clothes, that was carried on the bier in the funeral procession, and

Bradley. afterwards deposited on the tomb. The effigy of King Charles II stood for over a century above the vault in which he was buried, and may still be seen in a chamber in Westminster Abbey, above the Islip Chapel. The robes were renewed in the eighteenth century, and trimmed with real *point de rose* lace.

Dugdale. On Tuesday, February 10, the Privy Council met in the evening to decide whether the King's body should be deposited forthwith in the Princes' Chamber; and on the same day John Dugdale, Windsor Herald, in a letter written from London to Sir William Dugdale, Garter King of Arms, complains that they have had no instructions about the funeral: 'we know nothing, only discourse is that it will be exceeding private, not so much as a footman of ye late King's put in mourning.'

Anthony Wood. On Thursday night, February 12, the King's body was carried to the Princes' Chamber at Westminster, and there it lay in state till Saturday evening, amid illuminations and solemn mourning. On February 13 Van Citters reported to the Hague that the funeral ceremonies would not be very great.

James's
Memoirs.

London
Gazette,
Feb. 12-
16.

Anthony
Wood.

The funeral was solemnized on Saturday evening after dark. The body was carried from the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace to the Abbey Church. The coffin, covered by a purple velvet pall, was borne by gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, with six Earls supporting the pall. The procession was headed by the servants of the nobility, of their Royal Highnesses, of the King and Queen, the Dowager Queen, and the late King. After them followed the Barons, Bishops, and others of the nobility in strict order of precedence. The chief mourner, in the absence of King James, was His Royal



EFFIGY OF KING CHARLES II
Now in Westminster Abbey

Highness Prince George of Denmark, to whom Lord Cornbury was train-bearer. The Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort, wearing the collars of the Garter, as did the other Garter Knights who were present, acted as supporters to Prince George, while sixteen Earls were his assistants. One of the Kings of Arms carried the crown and cushion, the rest of the Officers of Arms attending and directing the ceremony. His Majesty's band of Gentlemen Pensioners and the Yeomen of the Guard brought up the rear. At the entrance to the Abbey the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, attended by the choir, met the body and led the way to the Chapel of King Henry VII, where the body was interred 'in a new vault at the end of the south aisle'. After the service was over, the officers of His Majesty's Household broke their staves over the grave, and 'the Royal style was proclaimed by another of the King of Arms according to custom'. For nearly two centuries no name served to identify the tomb. Posthumous remembrance was no part of the Stuart creed.

West-
minster
Abbey
Register
of
Burials.

MS. ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES II

BY SIR CHARLES SCARBURGH, M.D., F.R.C.P.

WITH A BRIEF MEMOIR

SIR CHARLES SCARBURGH, M.A. CANTAB., M.D. OXON.,
F.R.C.P. LONDIN.

CHARLES SCARBURGH was born in 1616 in London, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Caius College, Cambridge. He became a Fellow of his college, and took pupils, but devoted all his spare time to mathematics and medicine. At Cambridge he lectured on Oughtred's *Clavis Mathematicus*. His warm espousal of the Royalist cause in the civil wars led to the loss of his fellowship and of his library of books. Thence he migrated to Oxford and entered Merton College, where Harvey was then Warden. Here a friendship, that ended only with Harvey's death, sprang up between them. Scarburgh was able to assist him materially in the work *de Generatione Animalium* on which he was then engaged. In 1646 he was admitted a Doctor of Medicine at Oxford.

Soon after this Scarburgh came to London, and in 1648 was first enrolled in the College of Physicians of London, where he subsequently held many official posts, but never became President. He was one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society.

In 1652 we catch a glimpse of him again, begging Evelyn to give the *Tables of Veins and Arteries* which Evelyn had acquired at Padua from Dr. Jo. Athelsteinus



SIR CHARLES SCARBURGH WITH EDWARD ARRIS

From a water-colour copy, in the Royal College of Physicians, of the
 portrait in the Hall of the Barbers' Company

Leonaenas in 1646 to the College of Physicians, 'pre-tending,' as Evelyn says, 'he would not only reade upon them, but celebrate my curiositie as being the first who caused them to be compleated in that manner, and with that cost.' The physician misread his man, and the College acquired only the loan of them during their anatomical lectures, whereas later they were presented to the Royal Society, who ordered them to be engraved.

For some years Scarburgh lectured on Anatomy at the Surgeons' Hall. Here his portrait may still be seen along with that of Arris. Pennant gave the following description of it: 'He is dressed in the red gown, hood and cap of a doctor of physic, and is in the act of speaking: one hand on his breast, the other a little stretched out. On the left is another figure, the demonstrating surgeon dressed in the livery gown of the city of London: whose business it was to handle and show the parts of the dissected bodies. Accordingly he holds up the arm of a dead body, placed on a table, partly covered with a sheet with the sternum naked and laid bare, and the pectoral muscles appearing.' The portrait was painted to the order of the Company by Greenbury in 1651, as a mark of their regard for Scarburgh. Beneath the portrait is the following inscription:—

Haec tibi Scarburgi Arrisius queis spiritus intus
Corporis humani nobile versat opus.
Ille Opifex rerum tibi rerum arcana reclusit,
Et Numen verbis iussit inesse tuis.
Ille Dator rerum tibi res indulsit opimas,
Atque animam indultas qui bene donet opes.
Alter erit quisquis magna haec exempla sequetur,
Alterutri vestrum nemo secundus erit.

In 1656 Scarburgh succeeded Harvey as Lumleian Lecturer at the College of Physicians. He attended him

in his last illness in 1657, and a scandalous rumour got abroad that at Harvey's request he had given him his quietus in a draught of opium. Harvey bequeathed him in his will his velvet gown and surgical instruments, and desired him to look over his books and papers, and to present such as he thought fit to the College.

In 1658 Scarburgh was deputed by the President to greet the Marquis of Dorchester in a Latin speech on his admission to the Fellowship of the College. In 1660 Scarburgh dined with Pepys in his cabin aboard ship, where they were awaiting Charles's landing in England. Pepys reminded him how he had heard him say, 'that children do, in every day's experience, look several ways with both their eyes, till custom teaches them otherwise. And that we do now see with but one eye, our eyes looking in parallel lines.'

In 1663 we again find him in the company of Pepys at a banquet at the Surgeons' Hall. 'Dr. Scarborough took some friends of his, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. It seems one Dillon, of a good family, was, after much endeavour to have saved him, hanged with a silken haltar this Sessions, (of his own preparing,) not for honour only, but it being soft and sleek it do slip close and kill, that it strangles presently: whereas a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant.'

Scarburgh was appointed physician to Charles II, and in 1669 was knighted by him. This was not his only Court appointment, for he was subsequently personal physician to James II, to Prince George of Denmark, to William III and to his Queen Mary.

Scarburgh was in wide request as a physician. His name frequently appears in contemporary literature. Anthony Wood consulted him on several occasions. The poet Waller consulted him for dropsy in his legs. Scarburgh's prognosis was scarcely reassuring: 'Sir,' said he, 'your blood will run no longer' (Johnson's *Life of Waller*). Abraham Cowley wrote the following lines on Scarburgh, which suggest that he owed more to Scarburgh's friendship than to his physic:—

Some hours at least on thy own pleasures spend,
Since the whole stock may soon exhausted be
Bestow't not all in charitie.

Let *Nature* and let *Art* do what they please,
When all is done, *Life's an incurable disease*.

After Cowley's death in 1667 Scarburgh requited his friend's verse with 'An Elegy upon Mr. Abraham Cowley'.

Scarburgh, among his many other pursuits, was no mean naturalist. He sent a great northern diver and an eagle, taken in Ireland, to Sir Thomas Browne. The eagle made its home for two years in the sacred precincts of the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane.

He was a noted bibliophile, and owned a very valuable library of mathematical works and Greek classics. Evelyn says that the books were to have been transferred *en bloc* to King William's library at St. James's Palace, but that the project fell through owing to the premature death of Queen Mary in 1694, and the library was disposed of piecemeal in 1695.

In 1682 Scarburgh wellnigh lost his life in the well-known wreck of the *Gloucester* in Yarmouth Roads, when James was accused of abandoning all but his dogs and his priests to their fate. The Duke's dog

Mumper is said to have struggled with Sir Charles for a plank. Judging from the event, the physician seems to have found means of disposing of the dog.

In 1685 Scarburgh acted as chief physician throughout the last illness of Charles II. His account in Latin will be found in the following pages.

From 1685 to 1687 he was member of Parliament for Camelford; but his parliamentary duties were not so exacting as to withdraw him from the pursuit of his profession.

Death came to this man of many parts in 1694. He was buried at Canford, in Middlesex, and a marble monument on the north side of the chancel bears a Latin inscription to his memory.

The works that survived him include the *Syllabus Musculorum*; a Treatise on Trigonometry; a Compendium of Lily's Grammar; the Elegy upon Abraham Cowley; and a posthumous edition by his son of an English translation of Euclid's Elements, with notes.

CAROLUS SECUNDUS.

FEB. 2, 1684.

Ad octavam præcisè horam Rex Serenissimus Carolus II lecto recens relicto, dum in cubiculo leniter inambulabat, inordinatum quendam in cerebro sensit motum, cui mox aphonia motusque convulsivi vehementiores succedebant.

Aderant fortè tunc ex Medicis Regiis omnino duo, qui ut tanto Regum Optimi periculo mature prospicerent, venam ei in brachio dextro aperierunt, sanguisque eduxerunt uncias circiter sedecem. Interim et ceteri Medici per celerrimos nuncios advocati, in Regis subsidium convolârunt; habitóque inter se Consilio,

omnem navârunt Operam, ut periclitanti Majestati Suppetias ferrent praesentaneas.

Praescripserunt¹ nimirum, ut humeris applicarentur Cucurbitulae tres, eisque mox succederet Scarificatio satis profunda, idque majoris revulsione fortiorisque gratiâ, quo pacto extractae sunt Sanguinis ʒviij circiter.

Intra pauca exinde temporis momenta, ut Ventriculus ab omni impuritate vindicaretur, eodemque motu universum genus nervorum quicquid sibi molestum erat, elideret; Vomitorium propinarunt, nempe Infusionis Croci metallorum² in vino albo facti sesquiunciam, cujus exigua tantum parte admissâ, ne conatus omnino irritus esset, addiderunt Salis vitrioli albi drachmam unam in Aq. Paeoniae³ compos. solutam.

Post paulo exhibuerunt etiam Pilularum ex duobus drachmam unam, pariter in Aq. Paeoniae solut. hocque ut humores expeditius per inferiora amandarentur.

Atque ut Cathartici illius operatio promoveretur, superinjecerunt Enema in hunc modum confectum—

R. Decoct. commûn. pro Clyster. ⁴	lbj
Spec. hier. picr. ⁵	ʒj
Syr. e. Spin. Cervin.	ʒij
Salis geñ.	ʒss
Infus. Croc. metall.	ʒij
misceant	

¹ The composition and ingredients of the various preparations are for the most part to be found in the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, 1677. Only such details are given in the notes as are needed to make the account intelligible.

² Infusio Croci Metallorum: prepared from Sulphuret of Antimony and Nitre. Crocus on account of its colour.

³ A complex antispasmodic mixture.

⁴ A common vehicle for drugs administered by the bowel. The ingredients were Mallow Leaves, Violets, Pellitory, Beet, Herb Mercurial, Camomile Flowers, Fennel Seeds, Linseed, Plain Water.

⁵ Cinnamon, Zedoaria, Asarum, Cardamom Seeds, Saffron, Cochineal, Aloes. Spec. is the abbreviation of Species.

Haecque omnia ordinabantur Consilio Medicorum :

Car. Scarburgh	C. Frazier
Ed. Dickenson	Tho. Short
Ric. Lower	Edm. King

Post horam unam vel alteram repetebant Clysterem, additis Syr. de Sp. Cervini ℥ij, Vini Emetic.¹ ℥iiij, Salis Gem³ ℥ij.

His autem tardè operantibus, eundem adhuc scopum rursum ferire contendunt aliis etiam purgantibus in hunc modum praeparatis

R. Pil.² ex duobus ℥ij. dissolv. in Aq. Paeon. comp. ℥ij unde Rex confestim sumebat ℥j, reliquo in usus futuros reservato.

Praeterea ut nullum lapidem immotum relinquerent, applicata etiam fuerunt Epispastica universa Capiti, derasis prius Capillis.

Consulentibus

Car. Scarburgh	F. Mendes
Thos. Witherly	Rich. Lower
Ed. Dickenson	Tho. Short
G. Charleton	Edm. King
C. Frasier	

Sub vesper[]m³ ut perseverarent in Intentione humores a Capite continenter avertendi et abducendi, simulque ut oppresso Cerebro vires adderent, sequens Pharmacum praescripserunt

R. Spec. Hier. picr.	℥j
Aq. Paeon. comp.	lbj
Bryon. ⁴ comp.	lbss
M. f. Tinctura	

¹ Antimonial Wine.

² Colocynth, Scammony, Oil of Cloves, Syrup of Buckthorn.

³ In the MS. there is no trace of the letter omitted in *vesper[]m* : probably Scarburgh halted between *vesperum* and *vesperem*, and meant to fill it in after having ascertained the approved form.

⁴ Bryony reputed to be emetic, purgative, and diuretic.

Cujus cap. quantum et quoties Medicis adstantibus visum fuerit.

Eodem tempore ad excitandam Sternutationem Pulvis erat factus è radicibus Hellebor. albi ʒj. in promptu servandus, ut, quoties ex usu sit, Regis naribus admoveatur.

Confectus etiam fuit (Cerebri invigorandi gratiâ) alter Pulv. e flor. Primul. Veris quantitate ʒiiij

Consulentibus

C. Scarburgh	Tho. Short
Tho. Witherly	R. Lower
G. Charleton	Ed. King
Ed. Dickenson	M. Lyster
C. Frasier	Fer. Mendes

Ut nocte etiam Alvus flueret praescriptum quoque fuit sequens medicamentum

R. Mann. opt. ʒiij . dissolv.
in Aq. Hord. lbj . Colatur
add. Crem. Tartar. ʒj . unde

capiat ʒiij. secundâ quâque horâ.

Item ut obviam iretur urinae ardori, à vesicatoriorum usu impendenti, confecta erat hujusmodi Emulsio, toties quoties bibenda

R. Decoct. Hordei cū Liquorit. lb iij
Amygd. d. excorticat. N° xx
f. Emulsio Sacchar. alb. edulcor.

C. Scarburgh	F. Mendes	Ed. King
T. Witherly	T. Short	M. Lyster
W. Charleton	R. Lower	J. Lefebure
E. Dickenson	G. Frasier	

Super additum fuit Eccoproticum ex Tinctur. Sacr.¹ in Vin. alb. extract. ʒiij, mox ab Enemate rejecto propinandum.

¹ Sacred Tincture : contained Species Hierae Picrae (see before), Absinth, Centaury, Spirit of Wine, Anise.

Enematis autem istius forma talis erat

R. Decoct. commūn. lbj. Spec. Hier. ʒi

Salis Gem. ʒjss. Syr. è Sp. Cerv. ʒiij

Misc.

Horum Praescript. subscripsit

L. Rugely.

Interim Siti prospectum erat praesidio sequenti, quod alvum simul subduceret

R. Mann. opt. ʒvj. Crem. Tartar. ʒss

dissolve in haustu Jusculi tenuioris

vel Aq. Hord. ʒiij. Sumatur.

Consultum etiam erat ut Regia Majestas persisteret in usu tum emulsionis, tum Jusculi tenuioris vicibus alternis, utque interdum Cerevisiae tenuioris non lupulatae haustulus interponeretur pro arbitrio per totam noctem.

Haec dum peragebantur, Serenissimi Regis naribus subinde admovebatur ¹ Spir. Salis*, tam ad invigorandum Cerebrum, quam ad Sternutationem excitandam. Per intervalla exhibitae etiam fuerunt guttulae viginti ejusdem quidem Spiritus sed Succinati, in haustulo Aquae Lactis Alexiteriae ².

Et ne quid intentatum relinqueretur, quo ulterior adhuc tum revulsio, tum derivatio e Capite fieret, applicabantur plantis Empl. Cephalic. cum Euphorbio ³ et Pice Burgundicâ, partibus aequalibus.

¹ The significance of the asterisk is not apparent. The preparation is clearly Spirit of Sal Ammoniac, of which in subsequent Pharmacopoeias there was a Succinate variety.

² Aqua Lactis Alexiteriae composed of Leaves of Ulmaria, Thistle, Mint, Absinth, Rue, Angelica, Milk.

³ A noxious ingredient of this plaster was Pigeon's dung. It probably was not employed for its adhesive properties, as the plaster contains Resin. Goose's dung was considered almost a specific for jaundice, when taken by the stomach.

Atque in hunc modum finiebantur
Consilia Medicorum primo
die habita.

Februar. 3.

A Medicis ordinatum, ut Rex Serenissimus procederet in usu Tinctur. Sacr. sexta quaque horâ, dosi ante descriptâ, horisque intermediis adderet dosin Mann. praescript. cû Crem. Tart. in tenui jusculo dissolutam, et ne Dysuria nimium saeviret interponeret usum Emulsionis: Et ad vires refocillandas Cerebrumque eadem operâ invigorandam exhibiti fuerunt Spir. Salis Ammoniaci in Aq. Lactis Alexiter. quoties languor exposcere videretur

Hujus Consilii Authores erant

Ch. Scarburgh	T. Witherly
G. Charleton	C. Frasier
E. Dickenson	F. Mendes
T. Short	R. Lower
E. King	E. Browne
J. Lefebure	M. Lister

Qui sub meridiem rursus convenientes, necessarium esse judicârunt, ut, apertâ venâ jugulari alterutrâ, Sanguinis educerentur unciae circiter decem, quamprimum et commodum fieri possit.

Quo facto, ad demulcendum Urinae ardorem ex Vesicatoriis oriundum, praescripta fuit Emulsio sequens

R. Rad. Alth. siccâ. ʒj. Coq. in Aq. Hord.
lb iij ad ij. Amygd. d. excort. N° 6. Sem.
Melon. ʒss f. Emulsio edulcoranda Syr. de
Alth. ʒj. unde saepius bibatur haustulus
ad mitigandam Sitim Dysuriamque leniendam.

Repetitum fuit Decoct. Hord. in cujus lbj. dissolutae fuerunt Mann. opt. ʒiij. unde propinabantur Cochlear. 6. tertiâ quâque horâ in jusculi ex pullo Gallinaceo facti haustu, idque ut alvus subinde officii sui memor esset.

Ad haec Rege de doloribus in fauce conquerente, apparenteque inibi Excoriatione levi, sequens Gargarismus praescriptus fuit

R. Cort. interioris Ulmj ʒj	
Coq. in Aq. Hord. lb ij ad j	
Colatur. add. Syr. de Alth. ʒj. Misce	
C. Scarburgh	E. Browne
T. Short	G. Charleton
F. Mendes	R. Lower

Porro consultissimum videbatur, ut alvus semper solveretur, exhibendo eum in finem Tinctur. Sacrae modo memoratae ʒij: postea repetitâ Mannae ut supra dissolutae dosi consuetâ; utque Emulsionis et Jusculi tenuis alternatim exhibitorum propinarentur haustuli.

Ac habitâ vitalis indicationis ratione scriptum fuit Julapium in hunc modum

R. Aq. Ceras. nigror. Flor. Til. āā ʒvi	
Lil. Conval. ʒiiij. Paeon. comp. ʒij	
Spir. Lavend. comp. ʒss. Margaritar. praep. ʒij	
Sacch. Cand. alb. q. s. ad gratiam, ut fiat	
Julapium; unde pitisset ¹ quoties placuerit	
4. 5. vel 6 Cochl. maximè in languoribus.	

Huic Consilio suffragia sua contulerunt

C. Scarburgh	E. Browne
T. Witherly	E. King
E. Dickenson	T. Short
W. Charlton	J. Lefebure
T. Middleton	M. Lister
R. Lower	G. Farrell

Eadem purgandi necessitate usque urgente, denuo propinârunt Tinctur. Sacr. ʒij cum Syr. è. Spin.

¹ See Cooper's *Thesaurus* 1565: 'Pitisso, to sippe or drynke little. Terent.' This is the mediaeval sense, but not that in which Terence used it.

Cerv. ʒvj. Aq. Paeon. comp. ʒiij. ac secunda post mediam noctem horâ elapsâ, ingestae sunt etiam Syr. è Sp. Cerv. ʒij, in haustu Infusionis Mannae

Haecque ex Consilio

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
T. Witherly	F. Mendes
W. Charlton	T. Short
C. Frasier	M. Lister
E. Browne	J. Lefebure

Februar. 4.

Medicis visum est Apozema laxativum simul et leniens praescribere in hunc modum conficiendum, et ad usus pro re natâ servandum

R. Tartar. alb. ʒss. Coq. in Aq. font. lbjss
Vini alb. lbss. tum infunde Fol. Senn. ʒj.ss.
Mann. opt. ʒiiij. flor. Chamoemel. P ij.
rad. Gentian. ʒss. Nuc. Moschat. ʒj ad lenem
focum per 3 horas; deinde fiat Colatura per
subsidentiam depuranda.

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
T. Witherly	F. Mendes
T. Millington	M. Lister
G. Charlton	E. King
E. Dickenson	G. Farrell
E. Browne	J. Lefebuer
T. Short	

Qui omnes tempore pomeridiano ad consulendum denuo conventi sequentia ordinârunt.

Offerantur M. R. Apozematis modo descripti ʒiiij. nonâ a meridie horâ, repetaturque eadem dosis secundâ vel tertiâ post mediam noctem horâ, si id commodum visum fuerit Medicis praesentibus.

Interim per totam noctem per vices reficiantur S. R. vires nunc Jusculi tenuioris sorbitionibus, nunc Emul-

sionis haustulis, nunc liquore Posseti, interponendo interdum Cerevisiae non lupulatae usum, itemque Julapii Cephalico-Cardiaci solitam dosim, praesertim si languor.

Porro S. R. pro vectâ nocte gravius affecto advigilantibus Medicis consultum videbatur haustulum propinare sequentem

R. Sp. Cran. human.¹ g^t xxxx

Cap. in Cyatho Julapii Cordialis quamprimum.

Suasoribus

C. Scarburgh

R. Lower

E. Dickenson

F. Mendes

T. Millington

C. Farwell

Pet. Barwick

Februar. 5.

Cum Medici qui in Cubiculo Regio vigilias agitarent, observassent Majestatem fuisse Morbi Exacerbationem quandam ceu Paroxysmum singulis noctibus passam, cumque eorum nonnulli affirmassent grassari passim in Urbe febres quasdam intermittentes, quae cum diris quidem Convulsionibus primum invadentes facile tamen Corticis Peruviani Febrifugi usu (praemissis praemitendis) profligarentur, propterea omnes in eam concurrunt sententiam, ut Cortex ille S. R. exhiberetur ad nocturnas Symptomatum exacerbationes cito tutoque antevertendas.

Praescribunt itaque Corticem hâc ratione propinandum.

R. Cort. Peruvian. subtil. pulv. ʒj. Aq. Lactis Alexiter. ʒiiij. Syr. Garyophyl. ʒij. M. in haustulo, opportuno tempore bibend. iterandumque quoties assistentibus Medicis visum fuerit.

¹ Human skull was commonly employed in convulsive disorders. The purpose was suggestive, viz. to excite horror, as it was to be the skull of a man who had died a violent death.

Huic subscripserunt Praescripto

T. Witherly	C. Scarborough	W. Charleton
T. Millington	E. Dickenson	R. Lower
T. Short	E. Browne	F. Mendes
E. King	C. Frasier	J. Lefeur
E. Farrell	M. Lister	

Qui etiam conjunctis sententiis statuebant, tum ut Corticis Febrifugi jam definita dosis Serenissimo Regi porrigeretur horâ sextâ et nonâ matutinâ, itemque meridie in Aq. Lactis Alexiter. ʒiiij, tum ut horis intermediis Spiritus Cranii humani g^{tt} xxxx in Julapii Perlati Cyatho interponeretur,

Februar. 6.

Ingravescente jam tum morbo Serenissimique Regis viribus (Proh Dolor) sensim languentibus Medici ad Generosiorum Cardiacorum asylum confugere compulsi, praescribunt sequentia

R. Antidoti Raleighanae¹ major ʒss
Sumat statim in Cochlear. Julap.
Perlat. superbibendo mox Julapii
ejusdem cochlearia 4^{or}.

R. Lapidis Goae² ʒj. Cap. post horam j
vel alteram in Jusculi haustu.

¹ Confectio Raleighana in *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, 1724. This was an extract made of the different parts of an incredible number of herbs, parts of animals, and animal products, such as Pearls, Coral, and Bezoars. Its composition became greatly modified in later Pharmacopoeias, till it became the Confectio Aromatica of later days. The virtue of Raleigh's antidote resided more in the multiplicity of its components than in the physiological activity of all or any of them. 'Antidoti Raleighanae': the gender suggests that 'Confectionis' is understood.

² A false or artificial Bezoar (see below).

Consultoribus

C. Scarborough	R. Lower
T. Witherly	E. Browne
G. Charleton	T. Short
T. Millington	C. Frasier
P. Barwick	F. Mendes
E. King	C. Farel
J. Febeur	M. Lister

Qui post horas aliquot rursum conventi ad incitas propemodum redacti hujusmodi Remedia instituerunt

R. Cortic. Peruvian. ꝑjss. Vini Rhenan. ꝑijj
mixta extemplo propinentur.

Persistat Serenissimus Rex in usu Spir. Salis Ammoniac. Julapi Cordialis Cyatho contemperati, quantitate antehac definitâ ac praestitutis temporibus.

Sumat horâ octavâ post meridiem Sp. Salis Ammoniaci Succinati g^{tt} xx in Cochlearibus 4^{or} Julapii Perlati, eandem utriusque dosin alternis horis quandiu advigilantibus Medicis commodum videbitur.

R. ¹ Lapidis Bezoard. oriental. ʒij
Cap. in Cochleari Julapii Perlat.
mox superbibend. ejusdem Julapii dosin
consuetam.

Ex quo elapsis horis tribus S. R. magis magisque languente, ita praescriptum

R. Julap. descript. Cochl. 5
Sp. Salis Ammoniac. g^{tt} xx
Misceantur in potiunculam
illicò propinandam.

¹ A concretion formed in the stomach of an East Indian goat. Bezoars (a Persian word for antidote) were believed to have the power of destroying poisons and reanimating the vital powers. Besides the true bezoars, there were false bezoars, prepared from powdered oyster-shells made into small balls with gum water, and perfumed with ambergris.

Ex Consilio

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
G. Charlton	F. Mendes
P. Barwick	E. King
T. Millington	M. Lister
E. Browne	

Caeterum (eheu!) intempestâ jam nocte S. R. vires usque adeo infractae videbantur, ut totus Medicorum Chorus ab omni spe destitutus Animum Desponderit: ne tamen ullâ in re officio suo viderentur deesse, Generosissimum illud Cardiacum instituunt.

R. Antidoti Raleighanae ʒj

Julap. Perlat. Cochl. 5

Sp. Salis Ammoniac. succinat.

g^t xx. M. statim propinentur.

Novissimo huic maestissimoque Medicorum Conventui aderant

C. Scarburgh	T. Witherly
E. Dickenson	T. Millington
E. Browne	R. Lower
R. Brady	P. Barwick
T. Short	J. Lefebur
C. Farell	

Aderat etiam Inclytus ille Heros, Regis Frater Unicus, Regnique Optimo Jure Haeres, Jacobus tunc Eboraci quidem et Albaniae Dux illustrissimus, hodie vero Britaniarû Augustissimus Monarcha, qui summâ in Regem Pietate et plusquam Fraternali Amore affectus, de illius Salute usque adeo sollicitus fuit, ut a decumbentis lecto vix unquam decedere sustinuerit, nunc totus in luctu versans, nunc sedulus exequendis Medicorum Consiliis ipsemet invigilans aliàs ab Archiatro Coelesti Opem Auxiliumque ardentissimis precibus votisque et gemitibus subinde effusis implorans, ut

omnibus constiterit maluisse ipsum Clarissimi Fratris consortio perfrui, quam Sceptro, frustra reluctantibus Fatis. Nam post tot Amicorum Vota et Suspiria, post omne genus Medelae a fidelissimis juxta et eruditissimis Medicis tentatum, Regum Optimus Orthopnoeâ lethali ex improvise correptus, quae cum subinde violentiam remitteret, mox acius recrudesceret, fomite mali perpetuo superstite, tandem toto Naturae robore Dolorum immanitate attrito, mortalem Coronam placide deposuit, ut acciperet Immortalem.

Expiravit Februar. Sexto paulo post meridiem,
Anno Aetatis quinquagesimo quarto ad finem
decurrente.

In Caroli Secundi Augustissimi
Britaniarum Regis Corpore
aperto post mortem
reperiebantur.

1°. In Cerebri Cortice Venae et Arteriae supra modum repletae.

2. Cerebri tum ventriculi omnes serosâ quâdam materiâ inundati, tum ipsa substantia consimili humore haud leviter imbuta.

3. Thoraci dextri lateris Pulmones Pleurae tenaciter adhaerentes, sinistra vero plane liberi, quemadmodum ex Naturae instituto in sanis esse solet.

4. Pulmonum substantia nequiquam culpanda quidem, sed Sanguine referta.

5. Cor amplum firmumque, et in omnibus rectissimè formatum.

6. In infimo ventre nihil praeter naturale, nisi quod Hepatis color ad lividitatem inclinaret, fortè a sanguinis inibi restitantis pleonasmo, quo Renes et Lien cernebantur suffarcinati.

CHARLES II¹

FEB. 2, 1684.

PRECISELY at eight o'clock His Most Serene Majesty King Charles the Second, having just left his bed, was walking about quietly in his bed-chamber, when he felt some unusual disturbance in his brain, which was soon followed by loss of speech and convulsions of some violence.

There happened to be present at the time two in all of the King's Physicians, and they, so as promptly to forestal so serious a danger to this best of Kings, opened a vein in his right arm, and drew off about sixteen ounces of blood. Meantime too the rest of the Physicians had been summoned by express messengers, and flocked quickly to the King's assistance; and after they had held a consultation together, they strenuously endeavoured to afford timely succour to His Majesty in his dangerous state.

Indeed they prescribed three cupping-glasses to be applied to his shoulders, to be quickly followed by scarification deep enough to effect a fuller and more vigorous revulsion, and in this manner about eight ounces of blood were withdrawn.

Within a few moments after this, so as to free his stomach of all impurities, and by the same action to rid his whole nervous system of anything harmful to it, they administered an Emetic, to wit, half an ounce of Orange Infusion of the metals, made in white wine; and as only a small part of this was taken, so that their endeavour might not be altogether frustrated, they added one drachm of white vitriol dissolved in compound Paeony Water.

¹ In the translation the crabbed form of the original, and the varied spelling of the proper names have been adhered to as closely as possible.

Soon afterwards they gave as well one drachm of two-blend Pills, likewise dissolved in Paeony Water, and this so as to drain away the humours more speedily by his nether channels.

Further, so as to accelerate the operation of that Purgative, they supplemented it with an Enema made up as follows:—

R. Common Decoction for Clysters	1 pint
Powder of Sacred Bitter	1 ounce
Syrup of Buckthorn	2 ounces
Rock Salt	$\frac{1}{2}$ drachm
Orange Infusion of the metals	2 ounces

To be mixed.

All these remedies were ordered by these Physicians in consultation:—

Chas. Scarburgh	C. Frasier
Edm. Dickenson	Tho. Short
Rich. Lower	Edm. King

After one or two hours they repeated the Clyster, with the addition of 2 ounces of Syrup of Buckthorn, 4 ounces of Emetic Wine, and 2 drachms of Rock Salt.

But as these were slow in operation, they made still another effort to attain the same end with yet more purgatives, prepared as follows:—

R. Two-blend Pills 2 drachms, dissolved in compound Paeony Water 3 ounces, of which the King was to take 1 ounce immediately, the remainder to be reserved for future use.

Over and above this, so as to leave no stone unturned, Blistering agents were applied all over his head, after his hair had been shaved.

Those in consultation:—

Chas. Scarburgh	F. Mendes
Thos. Witherly	Rich. Lower
Edmund Dickenson	Tho. Short
W ^r . Charleton	Edm. King
C. Frasier	

As evening came on, so as to persevere in their object of diverting and withdrawing the humours from his head, and at the same time to give strength to his loaded brain, they prescribed the following combination :—

R. Sacred Bitter Powder	1 ounce
Compound Paeony Water	1 pint
Bryony Compound	$\frac{1}{2}$ pint

Mix and make a Tincture.

To be taken as often, and in such quantities, as the Physicians present may deem advisable.

At the same time, so as to excite sneezing, a powder was prepared of a drachm of White Hellebore roots, to be kept in readiness to be applied to the King's nostrils, as occasion arose.

A second Powder also was made up out of 4 ounces of Cowslip flowers (to strengthen his brain).

Those in consultation :—

C. Scarburgh	Tho. Short
Tho. Witherly	R. Lower
W ^r . Charleton	Edm. King
Edm. Dickenson	M. Lyster
C. Frasier	Fer. Mendes

So as to keep his bowels active at night as well, the following remedy was prescribed :—

R. Best Manna	3 ounces.	Dissolve
in Barley Water	1 pint.	Filter.
add Cream of Tartar 1 drachm, of which		
take 3 ounces every second hour.		

At the same time, so as to counteract the scalding of his urine, likely to result from the use of blistering drugs, an Emulsion was made up as follows, to be drunk as often as required :—

R. Decoction of Barley with Liquorice 3 pints
 Sweet Almond Kernels No. 20

To be made into an Emulsion and sweetened with white Sugar.

C. Scarborough	F. Mendes	Edm. King
T. Witherly	T. Short	M. Lyster
W ^r . Charleton	R. Lower	J. Lefebvre
E. Dickenson	C. Frasier	

To these was added further a mild Laxative of Sacred Tincture extracted in white Wine, 3 ounces, to be administered soon after the enema was returned. But the formula of that enema was as under:—

R. Common Decoction 1 pint. Sacred Powder 1 ounce
 Rock Salt $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachms. Syrup of Buckthorn 3 ounces
 Mix.

The prescription for these remedies was signed by
 L. Rugely.

Meantime steps were taken to stave off thirst by the following, calculated at the same time to move the bowels,

R. Best Manna 6 drachms. Cream of Tartar $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm,
 dissolve in a draught of thin broth or 3 ounces of
 Barley Water. To be taken.

It was also decided that His Majesty the King should continue to take both the emulsion and the thin broth alternately, with a draught of light ale made without hops introduced from time to time as occasion determined throughout the night.

While these measures were being carried out, Spirit of Sal Ammoniac was applied now and again to His Most Serene Majesty's nostrils, both as a cerebral stimulant, and to excite Sneezing. At intervals also, twenty drops of the same Spirit, but of the Succinate kind, were given in a small draught of Antidotal Milk Water.

So as to leave nothing at all untried, to promote still further both the revulsion and the derivation from

his Head, Cephalic Plasters combined with Spurge and Burgundy Pitch, in equal parts, were applied to the soles of his feet.

And in this way came to a close
the Consultations of the Physicians held
on the first day.

February 3.

The Physicians ordered His Most Serene Majesty to go on taking the Sacred Tincture every six hours, in the dose previously mentioned, with the addition at the intervening hours of a dose of Manna prescribed with Cream of Tartar, dissolved in light broth ; also, to mitigate the distress produced by his difficulty of micturition, to use the Emulsion between times : while to revive his strength and in the same way to stimulate his brain, they administered Spirits of Sal Ammoniac in Antidotal Milk Water, as often as exhaustion seemed to demand.

The following authorized this advice :—

C. Scarburgh	T. Witherly
W ^r . Charleton	C. Frasier
Edm. Dickenson	F. Mendes
T. Short	R. Lower
E. King	E. Browne
J. Lefebvre	M. Lister

These same meeting again close on noon, considered it necessary to open both jugular veins and draw off about ten ounces of blood, as soon as ever it could be conveniently managed.

After this was done, so as to mitigate the scalding of the Urine that the Blistering agents would inevitably set up, the following Emulsion was prescribed :—

R. Dried Mallow Root 1 ounce. Heat in 2 or 3 pints of Barley Water. Sweet Almond Kernels N^o 6. Melon Seeds $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm. Make into an

Emulsion to be sweetened with Syrup of Mallow, 1 ounce. Of this let him take a small draught as often as may be to relieve Thirst and allay Difficulty of Micturition.

Decoction of Barley was repeated, and in 1 pint of it were dissolved 3 ounces of Best Manna, of which 6 tablespoonfuls were administered every third hour in a draught of Chicken broth, so as to keep the bowels acting from time to time.

At this juncture, as the King was complaining of pain in his throat, in which a superficial Excoriation was to be seen, the following Gargle was prescribed:—

R. Inner Bark of Elm 1 ounce

Heat in 1 to 2 pints of Barley Water,

Filter: add 1 ounce of Syrup of Mallow. Mix.

C. Scarburgh

E. Browne

T. Short

W^r. Charleton

F. Mendes

R. Lower

Further it seemed most desirable that his bowels should be kept continuously relaxed, by administering for that purpose 2 ounces of the Sacred Tincture just mentioned, and repeating subsequently the usual dose of Manna dissolved as stated above; and that small draughts of the Emulsion and of the light Broth should be given alternately.

Besides this, paying heed to the vital indication of the case, a Julep was written out as follows:—

R. Black Cherry Water: Flowers of Lime, 6 ounces of each, Lilies of the Valley 4 ounces: Paeony Compound 2 ounces. Compound Spirit of Lavender $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce. Prepared Pearls, 2 drachms: White Sugar Candy to taste, sufficient to make a Julep: of which he might sip, as often as he pleased, 4. 5. or 6 Tablespoonfuls, particularly when exhausted.

To this advice the following gave unanimous approval :—

C. Scarburgh	E. Browne
T. Witherly	E. King
E. Dickenson	T. Short
W ^r . Charleton	J. Lefebvre
T. Middleton	M. Lister
R. Lower	C. Farrell

As the same need for purgation still remained urgent, they administered afresh Sacred Tincture 3 ounces, with Syrup of Buckthorn 6 drachms. Compound Paeony Water 3 ounces, and at 2 a.m. also 2 ounces of Syrup of Buckthorn were introduced, in a draught of Infusion of Manna.

This was the joint advice of :—

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
T. Witherly	F. Mendes
W ^r . Charlton	T. Short
C. Frasier	M. Lister
E. Browne	J. Lefebvre

February 4.

It seemed advisable to the Physicians to prescribe a mild laxative Decoction, composed as follows, to be kept for use as occasion arose :—

R. White Tartar $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce. Heat in $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of Spring Water. White Wine $\frac{1}{2}$ pint: then infuse $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of Senna Leaves. Best Manna, 4 ounces. Flowers of Chamomile, 2 handfuls. Gentian Root, $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm. Nutmeg 1 drachm: at a gentle heat for 3 hours: then filter and purify by settlement.

C. Scarburgh	E. Browne	M. Lister
T. Witherly	T. Short	E. King
T. Millington	R. Lower	C. Farrell
W ^r . Charlton	F. Mendes	J. Lefebvre
E. Dickenson		

All the above met afresh in consultation in the afternoon and ordered the following remedies :—

4 ounces of the Decoction just described to be given to His Majesty the King at 9 p.m., the same dose to be repeated at 2 or 3 a.m. if it seem advisable to the Physicians in attendance.

Along with this His Serene Majesty's strength should be supported throughout the night with drinks of light broth, with draughts of Emulsion and with liquid Posset, first one, then another, with now and then as a change Ale made without hops, and occasionally the usual dose of Cerebro-Cardiac Julep, especially in presence of exhaustion.

Further, as His Serene Majesty's condition became more grave as the night advanced, the Physicians who were watching him considered it advisable to administer the following small draught :—

R. Spirit of human Skull 40 drops.

Take in an ounce and a half of Cordial Julep as soon as possible.

The advisers were :—

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
E. Dickenson	F. Mendes
T. Millington	C. Farwell
Pet. Barwick	

February 5.

As the Physicians who had kept anxious watch in the King's Bedchamber had noticed that His Majesty's illness underwent each night some exacerbation or paroxysmal increase, and as some of them had stated confidently that some sort of intermittent fever was prevalent in town, which though it came on with alarming convulsions at the onset still was readily brought to an end by the use of Peruvian Bark Febrifuge (after appropriate preliminary measures) ; on this

account they were unanimously of opinion, that this Bark should be administered to His Serene Majesty, so as to anticipate speedily and surely the nocturnal exacerbations of the symptoms. Accordingly they prescribed Bark to be given in the following manner:—

R. Fine powder of Peruvian Bark, 1 drachm. Antidotal Milk Water, 4 ounces. Syrup of Cloves, 2 drachms. Mix and make a small draught, to be taken when indicated, and repeated as often as may seem advisable to the Physicians in attendance.

This prescription was signed by the following:—

T. Witherly	C. Scarburgh	W ^r . Charleton
T. Millington	Edm. Dickenson	R. Lower
T. Short	E. Browne	F. Mendes
Edm. King	C. Frasier	J. Lefebvre
E. Farrell	M. Lister	

They also determined with one consent that a specified dose of Febrifuge Bark should be handed to His Most Serene Majesty at 6 a.m. and 9 a.m., and also at noon in 4 ounces of Antidotal Milk Water, and to introduce at the intermediate hours 40 drops of Spirit of Human Skull in an ounce and a half of Pearl Julep.

February 6.

As the illness was now becoming more grave and His Most Serene Majesty's strength (Woe's me!) gradually failing the Physicians were compelled to have recourse to the more active Cardiac Tonics, and to prescribe the following:—

R. Raleigh's Stronger Antidote $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm
To be taken at once in a Tablespoonful of Pearl Julep,
and followed soon after by 4 Tablespoonfuls
of the same Julep.

R. Goa Stone 1 scruple. To be taken an hour or two later in a draught of Broth.

The Consultants were

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
T. Witherly	E. Browne
W ^r . Charleton	T. Short
T. Millington	C. Frasier
P. Barwick	F. Mendes
E. King	C. Farel
J. Lefebvre	M. Lister

Some hours afterwards they met again and being reduced almost to their last resource instituted the following line of treatment:—

R. Peruvian Bark $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachms. Rhine Wine 3 ounces.

To be mixed and administered forthwith.

His Most Serene Majesty was to persist in taking Spirit of Sal Ammoniac blended with an ounce and a half of Cordial Julep, in the quantity previously determined and at the appointed times.

At 8 p.m. he was to take 20 drops of Succinate Spirit of Sal Ammoniac in 4 Tablespoonfuls of Pearl Julep, and the same dose of each every other hour as long as the Physicians watching him shall deem fit.

R. Oriental Bezoar Stone 2 scruples

To be taken in a Tablespoonful of Pearl Julep, and followed soon after by the usual dose of the same Julep.

Three hours later His Serene Majesty sinking lower and lower, the following was prescribed:—

R. The Julep aforesaid 5 table-spoonfuls
Spirit of Sal Ammoniac 20 drops
To be mixed into a small draught
and drunk there and then.

In consultation:—

C. Scarburgh	R. Lower
W ^r . Charlton	F. Mendes
P. Barwick	E. King
T. Millington	M. Lister
E. Browne	

But (alas!) after an ill-fated night His Serene Majesty's strength seemed exhausted to such a degree, that the whole assemblage of Physicians lost all hope and became despondent: still so as not to appear to fail in doing their duty in any detail, they brought into play that most active Cordial:—

R. Raleigh's Antidote 1 drachm
 Pearl Julep 5 tablespoonfuls
 Succinate Spirit of Sal Ammoniac 20 drops.
 Mix. To be administered forthwith.

At this last and most dismal meeting of Physicians there were present:—

C. Scarburgh	T. Witherly
E. Dickenson	T. Millington
E. Browne	R. Lower
R. Brady	P. Barwick
T. Short	J. Lefebvre
C. Farell	

There was present also that renowned Hero, the King's only Brother, and Heir by an unimpeachable title to the Crown, James then most illustrious Duke of York and also of Albany, to-day however Most August Monarch of the Britains, who moved by the deepest affection for the King and by a more than brotherly love, was so anxious for his recovery, that he scarcely ever had the heart to leave the prostrate King's bedside, at times completely overwhelmed with grief, at times himself watching attentively the following out of the Physicians' instructions, at other times imploring Heaven's Arch-Healer for help and succour with most earnest prayers and vows and with repeated lamentations, so that it was clear to all that he preferred to enjoy the comradeship of his Most Distinguished Brother, rather than the Sceptre, but to no purpose, for the Fates were arrayed against him. For in spite of the vows and sighs of so many friends, in spite of every kind of treatment attempted

by Physicians of the greatest loyalty and skill, this Best of Kings was seized quite unexpectedly by a mortal distress of breathing that compelled him to sit upright; and though from time to time its violence abated, it soon returned more urgently than before, for the tinder the disease had fired still smouldered unceasingly, till at length all his natural strength was exhausted by the immensity of his sufferings, and he peacefully laid down his mortal Crown, to take up an Immortal.

He expired on February the Sixth soon after noon,
Towards the end of the fifty-fourth year of his age.

In the Body of Charles the Second, Most August
King of the Britains, when opened after death

were found:—

1°. On the Surface of the Brain the Veins and Arteries were unduly full.

2. All the Cerebral ventricles were filled with a kind of serous matter, and the substance of the Brain itself was quite soaked with similar fluid.

3. On the right side the Lungs and Pleura were firmly adherent to the chest-wall, but on the left side they were quite free, as Nature has ordained they should be in health.

4. No fault whatever could be found with the substance of the Lungs, but they were charged with blood.

5. The heart was large and firm, and quite free from malformation in every part.

6. In the depths of the belly there was nothing unnatural, except that the Liver was inclined to be livid in colour, perhaps because of the abundance of blood in it, with which the Kidneys and Spleen were also engorged.





BINDING SECT.

JUN 7 1971

DA Crawfurd, (Sir) Raymond
445 Henry Payne
C73 The last days of Charles II

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